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Franz Kafka

By CHARLES I. GLICKSBERG

"The very problem of the conscious man is the everlasting conflict between his tendency to isolate himself and his desire to be like the rest. No less, this is the conflict of Jewry within this world, and it remains likewise insolvable. Neither the ego nor the object can solve it. Jewry is only a group example of an otherwise individual problem of mind. Whatever Kafka wrote is, therefore, as much Jewish as it is generally human. Thus, it ought to be granted to Max Brod to interpret Kafka utterly from the Jewish point of view whereas others may consider Kafka's Judaism only as a ferment of his work and may take him as an analyst of the human soul in general."

John Urzidill, "The Oak and the Rock," in Angel Flores (ed.), *The Kafka Problem*, p. 284.

THESE CAN be no doubt that Judaism left its imprint on Kafka's extraordinarily sensitive, mystical temperament. No matter how hard we try, we cannot escape our past. Social as well as biological destiny tracks us down. The question of religious faith, however, was in Kafka's case tied up with the sharp, persistent conflict between father and son. The father, extroverted, aggressive, successful in business, yet an orthodox Jew withal, was for the lad an ideal to be emulated, but by the psychological law of polarity he was also the antagonist to be feared, the enemy to be overcome. The father was the representative of Jehovah, and the God of Vengeance, stern and even harsh, under no necessity to give an accounting of his sovereignty, whose shadowy, ambiguous presence trails through the pages of Kafka—this God takes on many of the characteristics of the father-image. Kafka's myths, the dream-images that recur with hypnotic frequency, shadow forth a concept of God

who would not be intelligible to the human intellect. He is aloof, unapproachable, incomprehensible, without concern for the fate of human beings, their sufferings and their needs, their desperate groping in the dark for the one door that will lead them to salvation.

Kafka, it is true, remained a Jew all his life long, but not without profoundly disturbing doubts, elaborate questionings and repudiations, so that his Judaism is psychologically suspect, sicklied o'er with the cast of unconscious metaphysical rejection. Spiritually and mentally he was a rebel, utterly unlike his Pharisaical father. Kafka is not in the least impressed by external rites and ceremonials. Though later in life he began to explore the meaning of Judaism, it was never in the spirit of a zealous, spiritually enlightened convert. Judaism was spoiled for him by the ubiquitous figure of his father. However much he might desire to return to Judaism he remained as alienated in spirit from his father as ever, and hence could not identify himself with the body of Judaism. Kafka's central myth revolves around the symbol of the submerged man, cut off from society, terribly alone. There is no medium of communication, no source of certitude or consolation.

Such a condition may be in large measure due to the tragic situation of the alienated Jew in Western civilization: rejected, a stranger in a Gentile world. Even those not of his own faith who seem to accept him socially erect invisible but huge barriers that cannot be scaled. He can go up to a certain point in intimacy but not beyond, and he remains the eter-

nal outsider if not the eternal scapegoat as well. That is why the Jew, like the characters in Kafka's novels, suffers frequently from an acute anxiety neurosis, a tormenting sense of insecurity. He never knows when he will be forced to pick up his burden and resume his wandering, homeless, despised, accursed, across the face of the earth. But why did Kafka feel so much alone? Why is loneliness so pivotal a problem, so pervasive a motif, in all his work? Was it partly because he was by nature an introvert and partly because he was a Jew, an alien, unable to become an integral part of society?

Max Brod's biography of Franz Kafka is essential for all those who wish to understand the ambivalent and bafflingly complex character of Kafka, his internal conflicts, his obsessions and abnormalities. It is the source book from which many critics have derived ammunition for their varied and often fantastic interpretations of his writing. Brod's presentation of documentary facts and manuscript material, his delineation of the leading events in Kafka's life, can be trusted. What is seriously open to question is his special pleading that Kafka longed at heart to be reintegrated into the Jewish community, that his striving was obliquely directed toward the goal of Zionism.

Kafka stemmed from a Jewish family that lived in a Czech area under the rulership of the Austrian Emperor, though Kafka was educated in German schools and was brought up as a German. From his forbears he inherited a rich store of memories, traditions, legends, predispositions. Had not his mother's great-grandfather been a remarkable Jewish scholar, a man of exemplary piety and learning? It was the father, however, who made the most forceful impression on the shy, timorous, introspective lad: the father who was the embodiment of dynamic energy, successful living, taking his place confidently in the world, conducting a whole-

sale business and rearing a family, upholding the finest virtues of the Jewish middle class. Franz Kafka could not help but admire, even if such talents and such ambitions were foreign to his temperament. It was from his mother's side that he inherited his strain of melancholy genius, his eccentricity, his absorption in the world of the spirit. What, after all, did he have in common with Herman Kafka's wholesale business in haberdashery? And it was precisely this fact which planted in him the seeds of future embittered conflicts and lacerations of conscience.

Though Kafka early withdrew from Judaism and gave up the religious practices of the Jewish community, his life was not without many lasting Jewish influences. Even in secondary school he often debated about God and the possibility of His existence, using arguments and reasons drawn from the Talmud. But the dominating figure of the father, exaggerated beyond all proportions by the neurotic fears of the lad, continued to be the major marring influence on Kafka's life. That constituted the sum and substance of his famous clinical document which is at the same time a literary statement of considerable value, "Letter to My Father," which has not yet been published in its entirety, though enough extracts have been disclosed to indicate the nature of Kafka's central neurotic conflict. The mother wisely decided not to submit it to the father. How bitterly Kafka blames himself for his unworthiness, his utter incompetence. He knows full well that he is one who is unable to stand up to the responsibilities of life; yet he is constantly trying to hold the father responsible for his own shortcomings, his ignoble condition. About his father he said: "From your armchair you ruled the world. Your opinion was right, everybody else's was mad, eccentric, meshuggah, not normal. At the same time your self-confidence was so great that

there was no need for you to be consistent, and yet you were always right. . . . You could swear at the Czechs, for example, and then at the Germans and then at the Jews, not for any particular reason but every reason, and in the end there was nobody left but yourself. For me you developed the bewildering effect that all tyrants have whose might is founded not on reason, but on their own person."

What a devastating portrait, painfully yet cruelly objective! It shows what an oppressive influence the overbearing personality of the father must have exerted on the sensitive, spiritually alienated son. Here was the authority that was absolute, not to be questioned, much less challenged, the same ambiguous authority that is portrayed in *The Trial* and in *The Castle*. And Kafka urgently needed the approval and approbation of the father. Unable to obtain it he was afflicted all his life long with a feeling of indescribable loathing and self-contempt, guilt and hopelessness. Indeed, he explicitly classified all his writing as an "attempt to get away from my father." This confession, this clinical evidence, is not to be conjured away by the kindly exegesis dictated by friendship. Max Brod may put a less damning interpretation on these neurotic anxieties, yet they certainly help to account for much in Kafka's nature that otherwise remains obscure, if not inexplicable. Had not Kafka written: "Ever since I can remember I was so concerned about the problem of defending my spiritual existence that everything else was indifferent to me." That was the cross he bore with such horror and self-hatred: fear of the father and the sense of guilt this generated because he tried to escape from it.

For a time, Brod points out, Kafka turned to Judaism as a way out, hoping that he might thus succeed in breaking the spiritual ascendancy the father had over him, but even this offered no avenue

of escape. For Judaism, too, was overshadowed by the gigantic figure of the father, and Kafka tells us as much. His rejection of Judaism is thus explicable on psychoanalytic as well as rational grounds. What else does this lengthy confession (only a part of which is here quoted) from "Letter to My Father" portend? "I found just as little escape from you in the Jewish faith. Here, in itself, was a possible escape, nay more, it would have been possible for us to have found each other in Judaism, or at least for us to have found in it a point from which we could have traveled the same road. But what kind of Judaism did I get from you!"

His attitude toward Judaism changed with the years. As a child he felt guilty, and reproached himself roundly, for not going more faithfully to the synagogue and keeping the fasts. Then, as a young man, he became intensely critical of the Pharisaism of the father whose professed Judaism was but a thing of shreds and patches, a huge joke. The father attended the synagogue four days in the year and went through the prayers as a formality. The main thing, apparently, was to conform, to pay lip-service, to be corporeally present. Kafka was immeasurably bored by all the meaningless mummary. Nothing broke the long stretch of boredom, except perhaps the ceremony of Bar Mitzvah, and even that didn't mean much but a lot of learning by rote. And the religious observances at home, the celebration of Passover for example, were even more of a miserable joke. Was this the material out of which he was expected to build a faith? The best thing to do, as Kafka declares, is to get rid of it all as something unclean.

Still later in life, however, Kafka came to understand why his father assumed the son to be wickedly recusant in this matter of religion. After all, the father had brought Judaism of a sort from the little country parish from which he had

emigrated to the city. And it was the process of urbanization which had brought about this weakening of faith on the part of the transplanted Jews. What he objected to in the faith held by his father was that, fundamentally, it represented the opinions of a group of Jewish businessmen, and though even this faith was not without its core of Judaism it was not enough to pass on to the son. How could a child grasp the inner significance and higher meaning of these rituals so indifferently performed? Moreover, since they had no vital meaning for the father, how could he hope to pass them on to the son?

Later Kafka developed a greater interest in the Jewish question, but even this did not please the exacting father who was personally opposed to the son's career as a writer. Kafka felt that the father should have overcome his antipathy and made an exception in his case. Thus the chance of establishing new points of contact between the two fell through, though Kafka is honest enough to admit that if his father had shown any sympathy for his newly awakened interest in Judaism, that interest would have instantly become suspect in his eyes. "Through my agency," Kafka goes on to say, "Judaism became revolting to you, Jewish writing unreadable, they 'disgusted' you—that might have meant that your childhood was the only right one, one must go no further." What Kafka is charging his father with is unconscious hypocrisy, an awareness of the weakness of his position. "In any case, your negative high opinion of my new interest in things Jewish was very exaggerated; in the first place, it brought your curse with it; and secondly, what was vital to its growth was the fundamental relationship with my fellow-men, in my case, in fact, it was fatal."

Many skeptical, urbanized Jews will no doubt recognize how much truth there is in this indictment of the patriarchal father and in this state of alienation that

is called forth by a mechanical adherence to Judaism. The pattern is certainly familiar in our time. Particularly in the case of Franz Kafka, hypersensitive, inclined to doubt and brood, the ceremonials of Judaism that he observed, at home and in the synagogue, were meaningless, if not farcical. He was gazing upon a dead, stereotyped ritual, the husk and dry bones of a once vital, passionately held religious faith. For apart from the fact that Kafka was temperamentally different from his father, how can his charge be gain-said that threats and coercions are ineffectual inducements to Judaism. There is no better teaching than the force of example. Even though it is probable that Kafka would in time have divorced himself from orthodox Judaism, no matter how genuinely pious an example his father had set him, his childhood and early boyhood might at least have been spared the ravaging effects of premature skepticism and disillusioned withdrawal. The mumbo-jumbo of the prayers in the synagogue, the mechanics of religious conformity, the sacred Hebrew words that were spoken with the lips but did not come hot and charged with faith from the heart, the ridiculous initiation into manhood at Bar Mitzvah, the snickering that went on at the family Seder—all that constituted not only an arraignment of the father but also of a Judaism that had grown hollow. The father was guilty, in the eyes of the son, because he unconsciously acceded to this conspiracy. The community itself was slack, deprived of the intense orthodoxy of the old-time faith. Kafka's later interest in Judaism was retarded, as was every positive move in his life, by the unfortunate example the father had set him. If his father approved of his newly-won interest in Judaism, he could be certain that the cause was not worth bothering about. There is the basic reason why he could not achieve whole-hearted affirmation of faith, organic oneness with the

body of Judaism. He remained throughout life an exile, alone, uprooted, stricken with the palsy of doubt.

In 1911 Kafka hobnobbed with a troupe of Polish Jewish actors who not only sang songs spiritedly in Jewish but also acted folk plays in the same tongue. He made friends with the actors, especially with one named Lówy, even to the point of bringing him to his home, listening with delight to the latter's stories of his wanderings and the life led by the Polish-Russian Jews. About this time, too, Kafka plunged into the study of Jewish history, reading Graetz' book and a history of Yiddish literature. So fascinated was Kafka by the character and life of Isak Lówy that he took endless notes. Here he caught an intimate glimpse of Jewish life, and it appealed to him more deeply than the Zionist program which Brod was then preaching with the zeal of a recent convert. Kafka would have none of this nationalist movement, but these Polish Jewish actors were the quintessence of Jewry at its best, expressing the spirit of a tenacious folk, closer to the earth and the common life than the assimilated, cultured Jews of the West.

Kafka would not be converted to Zionism and resisted Brod's arguments warmly. Was Kafka unconvinced, even repelled, because he then saw no reason for this feeling of community? He possessed about sufficient strength to fend for himself alone. When Brod pressed him persistently with his plans for Zionism, Kafka withdrew into his shell. Kafka writes: "What have I in common with Jews? I have almost nothing in common with myself, and should hide myself quietly in a corner satisfied with the fact that I can breathe." That statement requires neither commentary nor justification. It speaks eloquently for itself. That is the type of man Kafka was—spiritually alienated and radically uncommitted.

According to Brod, by 1918 and 1919 Kafka experienced a change of heart. He

even took up the study of Hebrew. Yet the virus of skepticism never left his blood. Once Kafka was taken by Brod to the home of a miracle-working rabbi. Kafka observed everything with his customary intentness but remained unimpressed by the ritual and the chassidic chants. On the way home he said: "If you look at it properly, it was just as if we had been among a tribe of African savages. Sheerest superstitions." Here again we behold the motif of withdrawal. Kafka was destined, he felt, to be alone.

In his last years, while he was staying at a Baltic seaside resort, he found there a colony of the Berlin Jewish People's Home, and became keenly interested in the work it was doing. There he met the woman with whom he fell in love and for whose sake he wanted to live, Dora Dymant, a girl of nineteen or twenty from an orthodox Polish Jewish family. She gave him strength and courage enough to leave his father and mother in Prague and settle down with her in Berlin. At last he had established his own home, achieved a measure of independence. While in Berlin during those trying post-war years, he tried to help Jewish people in need. He attended the Institute for Jewish Studies, heard lectures on the Talmud. By this time, too, he was able to read some Hebrew texts in the original. But his tubercular condition was growing progressively worse. On his deathbed he wrote Dora's father a letter declaring his wish to marry Dora, even though he was not an orthodox practicing Jew. At least he was repentant and sought conversion, but the "Gerer Rebbe" whom the father consulted said no and that decided the matter.

Now there is no way of knowing how deep, how genuine, this death-bed repentance and desire for conversion was. Kafka knew he was doomed, just when he most wanted to live, and it was more for Dora's sake, the world's sake, than for his soul's salvation that he was

prompted to take this step. For the breach with the father had never been healed, and so long as that enmity persisted he could never come back to Judaism with an undivided heart. Significantly enough, reconciliation with his father was associated in his mind with migration to Palestine. Though he decided to dedicate the stories in the collection, *The Country Doctor*, to his father, he realized how hopeless it was to attempt to win his father over by such a gesture. Never could he overcome his obsessive feeling of estrangement and doom.

Brod's contention that Kafka suffered from alienation because he could not identify himself spiritually with Zionism is an aberration of judgment which we can charitably afford to overlook. For Max Brod it is axiomatic that one cannot live properly unless one belongs to an organic community, and since the Jews as a race are without a land of their own they must feel this sense of homelessness with tragic poignancy. Zionism is therefore the solution. Brod is forced to admit, however, that Kafka was not one to furnish conclusions or believe in cures, but Brod hits upon an ingenious way of accounting for this lack: Kafka sought—and reached—the absolute, the citadel of God, through winding, impassable roads of skeptical ascent. The truth about Kafka, on the contrary, as anyone can determine for himself by reading his work, is that he was inconsolably alone. In *The Castle* he is expressing more than the rootlessness and restlessness of the Jew in an alien environment. Brod, however, insists on viewing Kafka's life and work according to the category of holiness. Thus the canonizing tendency makes itself felt when the manuscripts of a great writer fall into the hands of a loyal, truly devoted friend. For Kafka was emphatically not a saint—not even on the road to becoming one. His only relation to religion was to blast it with the dynamite of skepticism. It is ridiculous to maintain,

as does Brod, that Kafka was saintly because he had absolute faith. That is reading esoteric significance into essentially ambiguous, mystically obscure utterances. It took Kafka a long time before he took any interest whatever in Judaism; the pull of German culture, of universalism, of literature as a profession, was too strong. Literature was his substitute for religion, for God. One who tortured himself, not occasionally but consistently, as did Kafka, could not be at home in any conventicle of faith. No synagogue could long hold him. That is what he meant by saying: "There is nothing wrong with me except myself."

It is perfectly true, as the record reveals, that Kafka consciously made the effort to embrace Judaism, and the Jewish influence in his writing is unmistakable, even though there is not a single Jewish character in his major works: *Amerika*, *The Trial*, and *The Castle*. As a Jew Kafka was bound to experience inwardly the oppressive sense of alienation in a world that refused to assimilate him. Even though he suffered no overt persecutions, he bore within him the memory of horrible massacres and pogroms, the knowledge that the Jew was historically chosen to be the scapegoat of society, the realization that the Jew was set apart. The curse of the wandering Jew has been that no matter where he is permitted to settle he is never at home. And Kafka's novels and stories are replete with the theme of wandering, of migration, of exile.

Though rooted in a Jewish home, Kafka was from the start destined to be one of the homeless; outcast and alienated though descended from Jewish parents; alone in the universe though belonging by blood and ties of friendship to the Jewish community. How could he take an active interest in Zionism when he felt himself disembodied, depersonalized, without individual identity. Loneliness was his fate, and like the Ancient Mariner

his soul was alone, all alone, on a wide, wide sea. In the light of Kafka's characters and the problems that plagued him, it is utterly unjustified to present his quest as a search for being absorbed in the Jewish national movement. Kafka did not think in Jewish or Zionist terms; his spirit was universal, timeless, unconfined; he would have felt spiritually orphaned wherever he lived, in Austria or Czechoslovakia, or Jewish Palestine. His goal was not to be accepted as a Jew but to work out the mystery that haunted his life.

Kafka is the constitutional skeptic, dissatisfied with established perspectives, disintegrating traditional viewpoints and values, calling everything into question, revealing the depths, the gulfs of the irrational, that yawn before us. There is a terrible, relentless logic about this creative perception of the irrational; it has a consistency and character all its own, an unwillingness or inability to consider any issue closed, to furnish any final solutions. Even in the midst of the commonplace he discerns the mask of horror, the footprints of the mysterious. Thus reality dissolves in the crucible of his imagination; penetrating to the heart of things he exposes their dream-like insubstantiality. The framework of time is reduced to nothingness; in this cosmos chaos is enthroned and facts lose their compelling sovereignty. And all this, meticulously documented, produces a feeling of anguish, of horror, of inescapable fatality, like a nightmare in which the hand of a dark, frightfully masked assassin grasps us by the throat and brutally chokes us. Though we try to scream aloud in terror no sound issues forth—and there is no awakening.

What conclusion are we warranted in drawing from Kafka's life's struggle? Exactly what were his relations to the Jewish people in general and to Zionism in particular? From the biographical data at

our disposal, from the internal evidence to be gleaned from his writings, we are justified in rejecting the assumption that Kafka was steadily striving and tending toward identification with the Jewish masses, toward the acceptance of Judaism. Kafka's soul was too tortured and too complex to belong to any religion. Lonely, introverted, cut off from communion with his kind, whether Jewish or Gentile, he was destined to remain an exiled spirit. To begin with, Judaism was in his mind too closely associated with the memory of his domineering father for him ever to embrace it without severe internal conflict. Second, there is no sound justification for Brod's evangelical tendency to read into *The Castle*, for example, allegorical, symbolical parallels between the plight of the Jews in Western Europe and the lot of some of the characters in the novel. Third, Kafka's fiction is an artistically rendered confession of his neurotic torments, his insufficiencies. He meant it literally when he could not belong to Judaism because he had all he could do to sustain himself. Fourth, his writings are not the record of faith achieved but of an uncompromising, masochistic skepticism, and the allegorical interpretations read into his work by the Existentialists, the Surrealists, the Protestants, the Zionists, and even the Catholics, is so much metaphysical cobweb spinning. (In *The Kafka Problem*, one critic goes so far as to relate *The Trial* to the theology of crisis and finds points of parallelism not only between Kafka and Kierkegaard but also between Kafka and Barth and Pauline Christianity. Further than this critical ingenuity cannot be stretched.) Kafka is important for our time because he remained incorruptibly himself throughout all the vicissitudes of the journey he took, as all of us must take, to the end of night, portraying for us the tragedy of the sensitive, urban, enlightened Jew who cannot cling to the faith of his forbears

and is unable to attach himself to any other system of affirmative faith. Pascal made the plunge and found God in the very fact that it was impossible to accept him. Kierkegaard transcended the absurdity of the human situation by a fiat of the mystical will. Kafka, a confused and distressed God-seeker all his life,

bore his doom with dignity, not knowing why it was given him to stagger along this path yet never ceasing to question. The Hebraist insisted on the law, the moral order; the creative imagination perceived the discrepancies, the chaos, and remained obdurately and hopelessly skeptical in temper.

DEFINITION

By DAVID IGNATOW

Poetry is my grandfather
dying of TB in a soap vat,
owned and operated by his own kind.
Poetry is all my relatives
bunked in brick homes in Bensonhurst,
all in a row like neat piles in a brickyard,
and where all think they are different
from one another.

Poetry is my uncle, who after giving a daughter
in marriage to a known heart case,
subsidized a new synagogue,
that young and eager students of the Torah flock to.
Poetry is the fool my father made of himself
following in the footsteps of this brother,
causing his own children to suffer and hate him.
He has the money now, and an empty house too.

Poetry is my father
who once thought he had a voice,
and if he did, had no time for it,
but now, while sitting in the office,
boss of the rumbling machinery outside,
tries, for fear of a new heart attack,
to take things easy,
in the noise.

Anti-Semitism — A Mask for Privilege*

By ELMER GERTZ

THE PUBLICATION of a new book by Carey McWilliams is always an event for those concerned with the fabric of American life. A penetrating and novel analysis by him of the peculiar disease of anti-Semitism is of particular interest, not alone to the Jews and their friends, but to all who would look beyond the present darkness. He has already written definitively of the Japanese-Americans, the Mexican-Americans, and others who have felt the whip-lash of prejudice. He has always intended to reserve the Jews for a separate volume, because we present a special problem with world-wide implications. Here the book is, and it will undoubtedly be discussed for a long while to come, inviting at least one sequel. It will generally be praised, but there will be many who will dissent vigorously, not to say violently, from its major thesis, connecting anti-Semitism largely with economic considerations.

There are many people who are unwilling to give any credence to the concept of economic determinism, whether applied to anti-Semitism or any other social phenomenon or the general course of history. This attitude is, in part, a protest against the too glib, mechanistic and narrow application of the theory by half-baked agitators. Historical materialism has been reduced by them to the brassy yardstick of the cash register by a process of over simplification. Others, aware of the psychological, emotional, political, geographic, and physical causes

behind many deeds, tend to forget that these are often intermixed with the economic factor, really a part of it, and that to say that it is ultimately determinative is not to say that it is the only consideration or that there are hard and fast rules or absolutes of prophecy.

It is wise to stress these things at the beginning of a discussion of Mr. McWilliams' book, because some may otherwise fear that he has selected a few sordid facts to fit a crass theory. The truth is that he does not slight anything which will give him, and us, understanding of the subject. In one particularly nasty review, recently published by a notorious purveyor of misinformation, Mr. McWilliam was taken to task because he failed, in the judgment of the all-wise journalist, to grasp that anti-Semitism is based simply upon ignorance. It is true that we often misunderstand anti-Semitism through ignorance. But it is well to ask how it happens that men of education, breeding, position, and power, men who are themselves deprived of no material advantage, dislike and discriminate against the Jew.

The White Frost

Here and there, in the United States prior to the summer of 1877, there had been "incidents" affronting the Jews, individually or as a group; but it was not until the summer of 1877, according to Mr. McWilliams and his sources, that a major, overt act of anti-Semitism occurred. Joseph Seligman, the well-known New York banker, was "bluntly and noisily" denied accommodations at the Grand Union Hotel at Saratoga Springs. The incident was widely publicized and

* *A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America*. By Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown and Company. 300 pages. \$2.75.

commented upon. It shocked America. The great poet and editor, William Cullen Bryant, the Nestor of North America, editorialized that "a prejudice so opposed to the spirit of American institutions" could not endure here; he urged the Seligmans "to view with scientific curiosity rather than personal annoyance, the survival, in such a remnant, of a medieval prejudice." The most eloquent and influential of American preachers, Henry Ward Beecher, roared and flashed with indignation, but still felt that it was only an incident, a slight breath, a white frost, as it were.

But Bryant and Beecher were wrong. The Seligman incident was not anything isolated. It marked something new in American life, the beginning of organized anti-Semitism in the United States. That it was not alone social was seen when, at the same time, a leading Jewish lawyer was denied membership in the New York Bar Association. From Saratoga Springs the practice of excluding Jews spread throughout the Catskills and Adirondacks and beyond. In a decade, the exclusion of Jews was taken for granted. Jews found themselves excluded from some of the very clubs they had helped found, as in the case of the Union League Club.

The year 1877 was a significant one in American history. By then the United States had begun to outstrip England and France industrially and business enterprise was triumphant at home. The domestic triumph was not without violence. The great railroad strike was, as Mr. McWilliams says, the first significant industrial clash the country had ever experienced. The ordinary man suffered from war weariness and exhaustion; he was indecisive and troubled. There were those who protested violently, and the response of Big Business was equally violent. *The Chicago Tribune* was not alone in urging street hangings or poisonings for the trouble-makers.

The millionaire emerged. He was generally of North European, Protestant

stock. In one field after another, he corrupted the taste, standards, and traditions of the American people. This was the period of garishness, ostentation, display. America was vulgarized and its culture intimidated. Clannishness displaced solidarity, as Thorstein Veblen said; a sense of invidious distinction supplanted the equalitarian impulse; social status became important and with it conservatism generally. It percolated from the top downward. The people were united, as it were, negatively, in opposing the Negroes, the Chinese, the Indians, the foreigners, the Jews. On these the community spewed forth the venom which arose through the frustrations of the time. The pace and volume of immigration to this continent was increased and, as Boyesen wrote in 1877: "... we are beginning to feel crowded."

In many communities of the country—such as Cincinnati, Chicago, Louisville, St. Paul, Dallas, San Francisco, and Los Angeles—German Jews had been among the "first families" by reason of their priority of settlement and position. Then, by reason of what Mr. McWilliams describes as "the corrosion which the industrial revolution had brought about in the American scheme of values," the first overt manifestations of anti-Semitism occurred here in 1877 among the non-Jewish tycoons, determined to protect their social power by excluding agile newcomers.

"Social discrimination," Mr. McWilliams says, "always lays the foundation for subsequent discriminations of a more significant character, first, in the sense that it has a tendency to check the process of assimilation and to emphasize differences; and second, in the sense that it forces the minority to develop its own social institutions. Once the latter development has taken place, the minority feels that it has insulated itself against discrimination and regards the uneasy equilibrium thus established as a permanent and satisfactory adjustment, which is never the case.

Had the German Jews not met with systematic social discrimination, integration for all Jews in America would have been much easier. Once having acquiesced in the pattern of social discrimination, the spokesmen for American Jewry were thereafter blinded to those aspects of Jewish experience in America that did not square with their thesis that the battle against anti-Semitism had been won in the United States."

It is significant, then, that social discrimination here first arose, not against so-called unassimilated Eastern Jews, but against successful German Jews, who took for granted that they were part and parcel of the American scene and all encompassed therein. This lesson did not penetrate, because thereafter many still felt that anti-Semitism was a protest, at least in part, against the allegedly uncouth habits and outlandish appearance of the later immigrants from the Eastern Pale. It is true that the Immigration Act of 1924 was largely intended to exclude further Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe, but the pattern of discrimination encompassed all Jews.

From Little Acorns

There was a sort of delayed reaction following the 1877 incident. Social discrimination spread in unsensational fashion. The average Jew did not begin to feel insecure until the 1910's and '20's. Then he began to sense a general antagonism, a repulsion from the Jew on the part of white skinned Gentile Americans. As a sign of this awakening the Anti-Defamation League was formed in 1913 and a civil rights statute was passed that year in New York at the urgent solicitation of various Jewish groups. It was not East European Jewish immigration in itself that ignited the latent prejudices, but the appearance on the clerical labor market of a new group of identifiable competitors. The American Federation of Labor and others wanted the door slammed on these competitors. This took place,

first through the tightening up of immigration and then through discriminatory practices here at home, such as "Gentiles Only" advertisements. It was at this time that many Americans who practiced discrimination while being ashamed of prejudice created the myth that they were not against the Jews as such, but only against the "unassimilated" East European Jews. In 1913, too, this myth should have died; for it was then that Leo Frank, a young and moderately successful Jewish college graduate and factory manager, was falsely accused of murdering a young girl in Georgia, convicted on perjured testimony, beaten up by his fellow prisoners, and, in 1915, lynched by a mob, which had been incited to the crime by Tom Watson. Watson had been a populist leader, but had turned to Jew-baiting as a means to political advancement.

That this was not an isolated occurrence was shown when, in 1920, Henry Ford, the most famous of American industrialists, began his campaign of villification of the Jews in his widely circulated magazine, *The Dearborn Independent*, and in the still more widely distributed anti-Semitic pamphlets that he put forth. Ford went through the motions later of repudiating his anti-Semitism, but the pots of mischief that he brewed are still being stirred up.

This was the period, too, of the Ku Klux Klan, of acts of violence against individual Jews, of the exclusion of Jews from desirable real estate subdivisions and housing accommodations, the establishment of school and college quotas, job discrimination, professional disabilities, the virtual cessation of Jewish immigration, the growth of organized and vocal anti-Semitism. The first violently anti-Semitic speech ever made in Congress was delivered by Republican Congressman Louis T. McFadden in 1933. Political anti-Semitism had become a fact. Since then the history has been a familiar one. Nobody now doubts the prevalence

and virulence of anti-Semitism in the United States.

"Each phase of anti-Semitism," as Mr. McWilliams says, "has developed logically out of the phase or phases which preceded it and has paralleled changes in the economy. One can see the broad outline of a pattern in this progression: first social discrimination, then increasing economic discrimination, and finally, overt organized political anti-Semitism."

A Most Peculiar Disease

Anti-Semitism is a motley mixture of cause and effect. It is both a symptom and a cause of unrest and disorganization; a weapon in social conflicts, and also symptomatic of social maladjustment; a product of social pathology and an instrument in power politics. Obviously, it is a social disease, rather than an individual ailment. It is not a purely psychological phenomenon, a manifestation of "the dislike of the unlike" or of hatred for the outsider. Psycho-analysis can probably give us understanding of the various anti-Semitic "types"; but it cannot explain the disease itself or account for its rhythmic character. As Dr. Niles Carpenter has said: "The Jew has suffered when there were compelling economic and political reasons for making a victim of him." He provides people with an escape from an intolerable reality.

In the Middle of the Middle Class

The quickest way, as Mr. McWilliams says, to define the Jew's economic position is to name the fields in which he participates little if at all. Jews are only a minor element in banking and finance, and are virtually out of heavy industry. There are Jews in the waste-products, scrap-iron and steel industry, which is a symbol of their exclusion elsewhere, rather than evidence of influence. They are out of the coal, auto, rubber, chemical, shipping, transportation, shipbuilding, petroleum, aviation, railroading, telephone

and telegraph, light and power, lumber, agriculture, mining, dairy farming, and food processing industries. To be blunt, they are the ragpickers and collectors, as it were, of American heavy industry. So far as the light industries are concerned, they are largely restricted to the distribution of wool, silk and cotton products, clothing, furniture, boots and shoes, tobacco, liquor, books, and odds and ends here and there.

Where, then, do the Jews come in? They are concentrated in those businesses in which there is a large risk-factor, or which are peripheral to the economy, or new, or which were once regarded as unimportant or with an element of social stigma. These are often conspicuous businesses such as the radio or movie industry, and are thus the ideal butts for the batterings by anti-Semites.

Jews constitute, socio-economically speaking, a marginal class, the middle of the middle class. This exposes the Jews to increased pressure from three directions: from above (monopoly); from below (the working class); and from within the middle class itself. Jews get it, coming or going, or standing still! The well-being of the Jews is dependent largely on the economic health of the middle class. We are tolerated as long as the middle class flourishes. When the middle class is agonized or desperate, the Jew must beware. It may be summed up this way. We are forced into the marginal pursuits, and then are punished by reason thereof.

The Jewish Stereotype

Our exposed position leads to the creation of various stereotypes about us. Some minority groups, such as the Negroes, are despised by the prejudiced majority, because the stereotype of them depicts them as lazy, shiftless, irresponsible, dirty, ignorant, unassimilable, property destroying. The Jewish stereotype is exactly the opposite in most respects. We are hated by our enemies, because they regard us as too knowing and cunning,

too industrious, too competitive, in short, for the poor anti-Semite, who must, therefore, tie our hands and feet, as it were, in order to be able to advance himself. This would be flattering if it weren't so dangerous to life, limb, sustenance, and happiness. As the "last group in," we are regarded as interlopers and enemies by those on the top and on the bottom and in between. So we develop mobility, are less rooted to one spot, become more adaptive, more perceptive and quick. We are quite ready to become as others. Were we to be assimilated, or accepted by the dominant group, we would cease to be their competitors; and this they do not want, either, because we are too useful as scapegoats. It is not the ignorant alone who accept the stereotype. Such fine literary artists as Henry Adams, John Jay Chapman, Theodore Dreiser, Robert Herrick, Willa Cather, Thomas Wolfe, T. S. Eliot, and others, have sometimes thought of us in terms of the popular bogey. These things serve to rationalize and maintain the myth, as masks for privilege.

The Function of the Crackpot

The public likes to believe that "anti-Semitism is crackpotism." This is the proper unction to make it forget the more respectable forms of exclusion in many social institutions and industry. The real function of crackpot anti-Semites, as Mr. McWilliams shows, is to encourage the open expression of anti-Semitism on the part of latent anti-Semites. They function vicariously for their less articulate and less forthright listeners and sometimes release the inhibitions of these little people. They personalize and draw forth the hatred for the Jew by extreme, violent, and provocative statements. They depend, not on reason, but on vituperation. The crackpots are the sappers, the shock troops, who prepare the way for the armchair anti-Semites, the arch-reactionaries, the fascists. The lunatic fringe is probably for the moment incapable of

concerted or united action against the Jews, because of personal rivalries and competitive racketeering; but, as in Germany, the possibility of a union of fascists grows. This is because the armchair anti-Semites become more and more open in their advocacy of hate, and they are people of substance, largely free of neuroticism, and knowing what they want. American Action and similar groups, whatever the professions of some of their leaders, may well be the forerunners of a native fascism, having all of the tragic consequences of the Nazi experience. The *Atlanta Putsch* by the Columbians may be an intimation of things to come.

What Shall We Do?

Anti-Semitism, according to Mr. McWilliams, "is the most treacherous, deceptive, and tenacious of social prejudices; the most difficult to isolate or to define; the most resistant to enlightenment and therapy." It will, therefore, prove no ordinary task to eradicate it. The campaign must be organized on two levels. There must be a general assault upon the socio-economic conditions breeding the dread disease. At the same time, there must be a special campaign to eliminate any and all forms of racial, ethnic, or credal discrimination. We must, in the words of Joshua Trachtenberg, "drain the swamps of our social life . . ." This requires, in the ultimate sense, according to Mr. McWilliams, the creation of a society in which production is organized on some basis other than individual self-aggrandizement." The acquisitive economy, in other words, must be transformed to one in which co-operation rather than competition is the norm. At the same time, the individual must be orientated to reality in the performance of his work, so as to eliminate many of the frustrations characteristic of modern industrial life.

Obviously, it will take more than "intercultural" understanding to eradicate anti-Semitism. What is needed is "freedom from fear"—the fear of war, the

fear of economic insecurity, the fear of personal inadequacy. Concentration on the minutiae, such as avowals of brotherhood, "intercultural work-shops," and "interracial conferences," is not enough.

We must develop the concept of functional equality. It is not enough to restate the Constitutional guarantees. We must spell out the details and embark upon a program of social and political action to effectuate them. What one must aim for, by direct means, is equal educational opportunities, equal economic opportunities, equal access to good housing and to health and medical facilities, equal access to places of public accommodation; equality, in other words, in all of its tangible forms. This requires unity in the ranks of the democratic forces. Instead of 700 separate organizations going their own ways, there must be concerted action towards the achievement of the specific goals. The successful campaign for the Quinn-Ives F.E.P.C. bill in New York is an example of what can be accomplished by unity.

The purpose must be to utilize the power and prestige of the federal government to prevent discrimination. The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights marks an imperfect but historical start. Our obligations under the United Nations Charter define the federal responsibility in the matter. The old concept that it is government that is the oppressor is largely outdated; it is the "private governments," the corporations, unions, and other private organizations, that support inequality and discrimination. Government must intervene to enforce the Constitutional guarantees, not in the abstract, but in the concrete and specific forms that are meaningful.

Of course, Mr. McWilliams does not contend that private groups and individuals have no rights against the government. We must learn to draw the line between the legitimate freedom to which they are entitled and which should be encouraged and the point at which there

must be intervention to protect civil rights. The United States Supreme Court itself has tended towards this viewpoint in the recent Marsh case, in which the court declared that even on so-called private property, a large but wholly company-owned town, freedom of speech will be protected.

One thing is clear, and that is that prejudice is indivisible. Prejudice against any minority is prejudice against all. And prejudice in any form adds up to prejudice in all forms. If the quota system is accepted, then the pattern is set and all forms of discrimination follow. Through "law and social action" all forms of discrimination must be fought until they are eliminated.

Everywhere the old cliché is repeated. One is told that prejudice can be eliminated only through education, and not by laws. Mr. McWilliams makes the point that he has often stressed in the past, that legislation is one of the best forms of education. Large sums are wasted on the wrong kind of education by well-minded individuals and organizations. It is like scattering confetti in the face of the wind. Educational programs to combat racism should be checked by scientific tests, so that they are closely related to advanced research in the social sciences. A mere tolerance program is almost meaningless. Real education consists in the effective defining of the real sources of frustration and in interpreting, particularly to the middle class, the nature of the social forces about us. This, properly handled, will create belief in democracy and opposition to what we loosely call fascist trends. The child must be the first object of education. He and his elders must be taught to accept the theory and practice of human equality. Children and others must experience the living together of all peoples in dignity and tranquility. All Americans must be taught to accept full responsibility for their public and private words and deeds.

There must be a greater utilization of

existing laws to combat racism. With firmer determination and more resourcefulness, the democratic forces in the community can often thwart the bigots in their midst, those who would incite people, and this without doing violence to the Bill of Rights. Some of the more successful actions against the Klan, Father Coughlin, the *New York Daily News*, and Terminiello are examples of what can be done within the frame-work of existing law.

What shall we do when the demagogue comes to town? Shall we ignore him? Shall we give him pitiless publicity? Shall we picket his meetings? Mr. McWilliams says that one cannot generalize by way of easy answer. It is simply a matter of tactics in the particular situation. "While there is room for difference

of opinion on the question of tactics," he says, "there should be no division whatever on the basic proposition that fascist tendencies must be opposed in an organized manner, openly, publicly, democratically."

Accepting Jean-Paul Satre's portrait of the anti-Semite, Mr. McWilliams concludes that anti-Semitism "is a fear of one's self—the sweat of fear, the fever of inadequacy—that, in moments of crisis, breeds havoc and social panic." It is "a scurrilous yellow myth, a swamp fever exhaled by sick people in a sick society." It is one of the greatest barriers to self-knowledge and social understanding. It masks the realities of social, economic, and political injustice. To bring about justice, peace, and humanity, anti-Semitism must be dispelled.

"The United States in its mixture of peoples and races is more than any other nation a microcosm of the world. We cannot hope to solve the international problem of living together peacefully and justly if we are unable so to live at home. The appalling injustice, intolerance, class and racial bigotry, which confront us nationally make the world solution of these problems on a vaster scale seemingly hopeless. Yet only as we solve them at home can we solve them abroad."

The Creative Critic, by CARL H. GRABO

The Jew and Higher Education

By BERNARD M. BASS

PERSONS of the Jewish faith comprise approximately four per cent of the total population of the United States. Yet, more than eight per cent of the students on college campuses today are Jewish. This evidence is further substantiated by a study of thirty thousand Ohio high school graduates, which showed that four out of every ten Jewish high school graduates entered college whereas approximately two out of ten Protestant and one out of ten Catholic high school graduates in Ohio began college training.

Is this college-going tendency of Jews the result of superior intelligence? Is it because most Jews tend to live in cities and have more opportunity to enter college? Are personality differences involved? Do Jews go to college in greater relative numbers than others because of cultural factors?

Let us examine each of these questions separately. The first question asks whether the greater tendency for Jewish students to go to college is because Jews are on the average more intelligent than non-Jews. By intelligence, we do not mean an inherited or inborn capacity to learn and think, but rather we shall consider intelligence as it is measured by the typical American intelligence tests. Therefore, the question should be restated to ask whether the Jew is superior in the ability to learn the materials, and in the ability to solve the complex problems of urbanized American society, for this is what the intelligence test measures for the most part. Since progress in American schools depends on one's ability to cope with the materials and problems of our own civilization, the intelligence test and

the IQ become good indications of school success. If the Jewish child averages higher intelligence test scores, *no matter what the reason*, this may help to explain why he shows greater tendency to continue his education.

Psychologists have been interested in the intelligence test score differences which appear to exist among the various national strains within this country. In the past thirty years, intelligence tests have been given to many thousands of children and adults with different national and racial origins. Although many conflicting results have been reported, in general, Jewish children have been found to surpass most other groups in this country. Most investigators have concluded that these results are mainly due to the superior social or economic status of Jewish children. In other words, Jewish children have more opportunity than the *average* of American children to work with and solve the problems of living and adjusting to the urban American way of life. However, whatever the cause for this superiority, we can see that it does exist and that it may serve to explain one of the reasons why Jewish youths show a greater than average tendency to enter college.

Personality, which to the psychologist means the unique complex combination of all the traits and characteristics of one individual, may also be a factor influencing the tendency for Jews to seek college educations. Several psychological investigations have indicated that Jews, as a group, differ from the rest of the population in certain personality characteristics. We must keep in mind however, that the

few studies available on the personalities of Jews may be subject to a great deal of error, for personality measurements are not as yet wholly valid or reliable. We must also emphasize that wide individual differences exist among Jews as among any group of people. Studies which attempt to make generalizations about Jewish personality characteristics often base their conclusions on the "average" Jew. But there may be no such individual in existence.

In general, few researches have found differences which are conclusive. Jewish students show indications of inferiority feelings which are compensated for by socially aggressive behavior and a drive towards creative work. According to several studies, Jews tend to direct their thoughts outward towards their surroundings; they tend to be leaders rather than followers in group situations and they tend to be more alert and enthusiastic in school. Jews are also reported to be more gregarious; that is, they tend to show a stronger social dependence. They tend to be slightly less emotionally stable according to one investigation. Jewish students also tend to show higher than average theoretical and social interests and less religious interest.

Scanning these various studies leads us to conclude that two factors seem to be present to a higher than average degree in the Jewish personality pattern. One is a tendency towards doing creative work in the arts, sciences, and literature. The other is the tendency towards social aggression. Both factors may be considered methods of overcoming or compensating for the frustrations created by social discrimination.

That the environmental factor of anti-semitism is a most important determinant of Jewish personality has been aptly expressed by Heywood Broun and George Britt. "Beyond a doubt, the tune is called by a Gentile society and echoed by the Jews themselves."

The problem of discrimination arouses

fears and conflicts which may develop into anxieties, sometimes far out of proportion to the reality of the situation. These anxieties may then continually be recurring situations in which discrimination really occurs. As the Jew is "set" for discrimination, he may perceive discrimination where it does not actually exist, for it may be easier for him to get meaning out of such a situation in this way. Since in both cases the discrimination is "real" to the perceiver, the psychological effects of discrimination may extend beyond its actual occurrences in the environment.

From the preceding discussion we may speculate that the tendency of Jews to attempt to rise in the socio-economic order and to do creative and intellectual work may be a compensation for inferiority feelings, emotional tensions, and anxieties created by anti-semitism. In addition, the Jewish student may feel that he must have better qualifications than the non-Jew in order to receive the same material reward. Yet if the problems which are caused by discrimination direct the Jew towards college, then other minorities of this country should show similar tendencies. But such is not the case.

The factors of intelligence and personality differences fail to explain completely the high rate of college attendance by Jews. To these two factors must be added the pervasive influence of the Jewish culture and family. In an historical analysis of the subject of Jewish intellect, some writers have suggested the theory that the Jewish superiority of intellect and creative ability is the result of natural selection and the "survival of the fittest." Cited is the fact that there were approximately six million Jews at the time of the Diaspora, nineteen hundred years ago, and because of persecution and discrimination coupled with a low birth rate, there were only sixteen million in 1939. (The post-war figure is substantially less.) Compared to the increase in population in Great Britain from four to

fifty million in the last four hundred years, the case for the questionable theory of natural selection seems supportable.

Under persecution and decimation, in the confines of the Ghetto, the Jew was thwarted of his creative ability to contribute to Western civilization. It is mainly under enlightened governments that the Jew has been able to contribute to scientific and artistic progress. For example, consider the Jewish contributions which came forth in Moorish Spain and the Saracen world, the work of Spinoza in tolerant Holland, and the contributions of the Mendelssohns in awakening Germany.

Psychologists have found that there are optimal motivating conditions for maximum learning and thinking. If motivation is too high, learning is less than maximum; if motivation is too low, again, learning is less than maximum. One may speculate that Jewish intellect thrives best, in comparison to the rest of the population, under a certain amount of discrimination. Under the severe conditions of persecution, Jewish creative ability is dampened; it is possible that under a situation completely free from discrimination, Jewish creative ability would be less than maximum in comparison to the rest of the population. This argument, of course, is related to the previously mentioned idea that the Jew goes to college as a compensation for psychological frustrations engendered by discrimination.

Segregation within the Ghetto may have indirectly contributed to present-day Jewish intellectualism. The mass of the people of Western Christendom were stifled in learning and creative thought under the yoke of feudalism and authoritarianism. They lived in a "one-answer" universe. However, since the Jew was outside of the Universal Church, he was in certain respects more free to think about sacred and secular problems. At least, one may speculate that a greater percentage of Jews than non-Jews of the

medieval period were directed towards some form of intellectual endeavor. For the Jew there were two answers. He could remain a Jew and live like a Jew, or he could become a Christian. The Christian could only remain a Christian.

Of greater importance, was the occupational status of the Jew. To him, at least in the earlier Middle Ages, were relegated the occupations of trader and money lender. It is logical to suppose that trading and banking placed emphasis on the ability to abstract and the ability to deal with symbols. Possibly this emphasis has been carried through the culture down to the present day.

Judaism itself may have fostered a greater amount of intellectualism. Emphasis was placed on knowledge of the law. Layman as well as rabbi delved into the intellectual intricacies of the Torah and the Talmud. The title, rabbi, implied one who was a master or teacher. This may also serve to indicate the relation between Jewish intellectualism and the Hebrew religion. The rabbi (the teacher) was a highly esteemed man in the community. Therefore, to be educated or to be a teacher was a great honor.

Judaism today is often thought of as a "way of life" as well as a religion. The "way of life" or the culture may endure without complete continuance of the religion. Jewish boys study Hebrew and are confirmed at thirteen, sometimes despite the fact that their parents are no longer religious. For, to study for confirmation is part of the pattern of the Jewish mode of living above and beyond the call of religion. This study of a rather difficult foreign language at an early age may be considered a form of "forced direction" towards academic learning and may help to explain the fact that Jewish college students were found to be superior in linguistic ability to non-Jewish college students.

Closely associated with the culture is the influence of the family. In commenting upon Jewish children's low scores in

performance and mechanical tests, Klineberg, in his classic, *Race Differences*, declared, "There is among Jewish families a marked emphasis upon schooling and 'abstract' intelligence to the almost total disregard of manual dexterity and mechanical intelligence." It has also been found that Jewish boys make higher scores than non-Jewish boys on school adjustment. This may be in line with the idea that the Jewish boy is more interested in study and intellectual pursuits.

A comparative study of Jewish and comparable non-Jewish families indicated that Jews take more pride in the achievement of family members and that there is a greater solidarity in the Jewish family groups. Thus, going to college may yield a greater psychological reward to the Jewish student in that he obtains greater family recognition for it.

An attempt to explain past and present contributions of the Jews to civilization out of all proportion to their numbers was made in the article "Jewish Production of American Leaders." Cited among eminent Jews of the world were Spinoza, Disraeli, Lassalle, Heine, Ricardo, Marx, the Mendelssohns, Offenbach, Einstein, Bergson, Ehrlich, Freud, Belasco, Bernhardt, Reinhardt, Frankfurter, Cardoza, and Brandeis. Jews as a group, achieve eminence in the United States in the face of many handicaps such as a large percentage of foreign-born, poverty of a large part of the group, strong isolationist tendencies and discrimination, especially in education, government and the military services. The other minority groups of the country face many of the same handicaps yet nowise achieve the same success.

The authors, Smith and Moton, consider urbanization, superiority of intelligence, and tradition as the reasons for Jewish success. They lay strong emphasis on the influence of the family and culture, and declare, "The social factors of tradition, early training, and continued focus on success and leadership must be ac-

corded great weight in the total explanation of Jewish contributions to eminence. . . . There is (among Jews) a powerful tradition for striving for achievement and a powerful stimulus towards success."

Smith and Moton quote from Mary Antin's *The Promised Land* in which she describes the importance attached to education by the Jewish family of fifty years ago:

"No Jewish boy was allowed to grow up without at least a rudimentary knowledge of Hebrew. The scantiest income had to be divided so as to provide for the boy's tuition. To leave a boy without a teacher was a disgrace upon the whole family, to the remotest relative. . . ."

Mary Antin goes on to relate how her five years old brother became the hero of the family because he was entering school! He was better provided for than his sisters because he was going to school, and the girls could not be scholars and rabbis like him.

Generations have gone by, but one can readily discern the transfer effect of such family behavior. Formerly, honor was accorded by Jews to those going to school because they would reach an esteemed goal—they would become scholars and rabbis. Today, undertaking academic training for any purpose is highly honored.

Smith and Moton conclude that the aptitudes and interests of the Jew are primarily caused by the discrimination towards him, and that if discrimination against the Jew were to cease in America, assimilation of the Jew would proceed to such an extent that no differentiation of group tendencies would be possible.

The following generalizations appear supportable on the basis of the previous discussions of intelligence, personality and culture:

1. There is some evidence of a slightly superior intellect of the average Jew over the average non-Jew which is probably the result of socio-economic differences. The whole problem is still debatable.

2. Discrimination against the Jew arouses emotional tensions within him which direct his behavior differently from that of the American majority.

3. The Jewish family and cultural heritage play an important role in causing the Jew to tend towards intellectual pursuits.

Each of these conclusions alone is not sufficient to explain completely the greater than average tendency for Jewish youths to enter college. However, these three factors form an interrelated pattern peculiar to the Jew which directs him towards higher education and intellectualism.

How are these factors related? Briefly, we may state that among Jews, a strong family tradition honoring the educated tends to direct the children of the family towards college. The children, on the

whole, possess a greater than average intelligence and are more often capable of undertaking higher education. This slight superiority of intellect may in turn, depend on the family and cultural status. Discrimination acts mainly as a reinforcement agent. It maintains attitudes that the Jews as a group are apart from others, and therefore it helps to continue group traditions and culture. Secondly, discrimination reinforces old fears and causes new frustrations within the Jewish child, who by striving for success and education, releases the pent-up tensions developed by the frustrations. Finally, the Jews are ninety-nine per cent urbanized. They live in the cities, areas where more people tend to go to college, and this may further increase the opportunity and the desire for Jewish youths to seek higher educations.

No one can say to me—"Your existence on earth is justified because some of your people are good, or noble, or holy." Some of my people are not good and not noble and not holy. But we are people. People like other people. We are entitled to our ugly as well as to our good. If there are saints among us, they do not justify me. If there are sinners among us, they do not condemn me. I am a human being. I have a right to be judged for what I am.

"The Ransom of Rabbi Weir" by MORTON WISHENGRAD from *Eternal Light*

Emma Lazarus — Symbol of Liberty

(ON THE 60th ANNIVERSARY OF HER DEATH)

By MURRAY FRANK

THE 60th anniversary of the dedication of the Statue of Liberty, universally recognized as the symbol of American liberty and democracy, was observed in October, 1946. Somewhat over a year later—November, 1947—marked the 60th anniversary of the death of Emma Lazarus, the poetess whose sonnet "The New Colossus" is inscribed on a plaque at the base of the great bronze statue in New York Harbor.

When one thinks of the "Goddess of Liberty," conceived and executed by the French sculptor Frederic Auguste Bartholdi and presented by the French people to the people of this country to commemorate the first centenary of American independence, one also thinks immediately of Emma Lazarus and her stirring words about the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free . . . the homeless, the tempest-tossed." Her sonnet was sufficient to immortalize her in the annals of American history. Down through the decades, the "Goddess of Liberty" and Emma Lazarus have become complementary, if not synonymous. This is a privilege which few poets of all nations and all times have experienced.

Emma Lazarus has been variously described as the first great literary figure to come out of Jewish ranks in America, as the "sweet singer of Israel," as the forgotten genius of American Jewry, as having attained a leading place in American literature, and as one of the most brilliant writers of the late 19th century. Undoubtedly, there is much truth in all of

these assertions, but, too, no small degree of sentimentality, and some exaggeration.

It is erroneous to take Emma Lazarus out of the period in which she was a creative force and to compare her views, style, and art of expression with later poets who wrote in different times, under diverse circumstances and varied concepts. She should be regarded solely as a product of her age. When judged in the light of the day in which she lived, her approach to contemporary problems and her view of life become more understandable and she emerges as one of the great or near-great literary figures of that period who have left a lasting impression on American life and letters.

Her literary creations were not too numerous. After her death, her poems were collected and published in two volumes. Emma Lazarus also contributed some translations into English of medieval Spanish-Jewish poets and 19th century German poets, and was the author of several essays which aroused much interest in her day. Not a very great literary heritage quantitatively perhaps, due primarily to the fact that her life was rather short—she died at the age of 38—but qualitatively recognized as being on a par with the masters of her day, particularly Robert Browning with whom she was often compared.

Emma Lazarus was one of seven children born to Moses and Esther Lazarus, who were of Sephardic lineage. They immigrated to the U. S. in the first half of the 19th century and settled in New

York City, where Moses Lazarus conducted a large sugar trade. There his daughter Emma was born on July 22, 1849. She was reared in an atmosphere of wealth, culture, and refinement, and was educated by private tutors.

Young Emma's talent for poetry became manifest at a rather early age. She is known to have written her earliest verses at the age of 14, and published the first collection of poetry and translations at the age of 17. Four years later, in 1871, a second volume of her verses appeared under the title *Admetus and Other Poems*, dedicated to "My Friend Ralph Waldo Emerson." A close friendship developed during these formative years between Miss Lazarus and Emerson, whom she idolized and who was her literary mentor for a number of years. In one of her letters she speaks of the great American philosopher as "the guiding star," and he is known to have influenced her writing more than any one else.

From the time her second volume of poetry appeared, her writings attracted the attention of literary circles in this country and in England. Emma Lazarus befriended and corresponded with the literary great of her time including, in addition to Emerson, also William Cullen Bryant, Robert Browning, William Morris, John Burroughs, Edmund C. Stedman, and even the Russian novelist Ivan Turgenev and others. During these years her poetry was published in the finest literary magazines. She lived in a world of letters and took great delight in reading classic poetry and listening to classical music, believing that in this way she was best inspired to continue her creative work.

The year 1881 was a year of notable transformation in her concept of life and this was immediately reflected in her poetry. Emma Lazarus had by this time reached the age of 32. She was the author of several small volumes of verses, a novel based upon an episode in the life of Goethe (published in 1874), a drama

in five acts depicting medieval Italy (written in 1876, but never produced), and a volume of translations of selected poems and ballads of Heinrich Heine (published in 1881).

Up until this period her talent had not yet reached masterful expression and her poetry had not attained first-rank quality. She had been too much under the influence of the classicists, Greek mythology, and the abstract beauty of nature. Her earliest verses were typified by a definite spectre of gloom, they appeared somewhat artificial in their construction, and indicated a lack of fire, inspiration, and originality. A critic once described her literary creations of this period as possessed of "quiet emotion, Hellenic beauty, romance without passion."

During this same creative period, Emma Lazarus showed no interest whatever in Judaism and no inclination to understand her people. Consequently her early writings contained no affiliation with Jewish thought nor any influences which could be traced to Jewish history. The poet and essayist Stedman is said to have reproached her for this lack of interest in the history and traditions of her people, while John Burroughs in his correspondence with Miss Lazarus called her attention to the Hebraic influences in the works of Walt Whitman and Thomas Carlyle. Nothing seemed to move her, however, to adopt a more friendly and understanding attitude toward Jewish life or an awareness of the plight of her people, not even the Czarist persecutions of the Jews of Russia which stirred public opinion throughout the world and aroused a great deal of criticism of Czarist Russia in the United States.

Yet, as if fate had willed it, the emotional impact which stirred her to poetic heights and served as the source of genuine inspiration for the last and most creative years of her life was the development of Jewish events of her own day, particularly the deterioration of the Jewish position in Russia and the bleak outlook

for the Jewish minority there, which finally penetrated the seclusion and privacy of Emma Lazarus who had kept herself aloof and remote from world realities. Heretofore, she lacked the spark to bring forth the literary genius in her, and that spark was provided by the persecutions and martyrdom suffered by Russian Jewry in the early 1880's which awakened her from her classical dreams and caused her to turn to Jewish themes.

Two events, in particular, were directly responsible for her transformation. The first was a visit to Ward's Island, where Jewish immigrants escaping from Russian pogroms were kept pending their admission to this country. There she came face to face, for the first time, with the poverty, the hunger, and the fear of the fleeing Russian-Jewish immigrants. This event stirred her to the very depths of her soul, and the outcome of it was a yearning to learn more about their tragic experiences, the circumstances which caused them to flee their native land, and the life of Eastern European Jewry in general.

The second event was the publication of an anti-Semitic article by a Russian woman, Zenaide Ragozin, in the April, 1882 issue of *The Century*, a magazine to which Emma Lazarus was a contributor. The author of the article, who was subsequently denounced as a secret agent of the Russian government, attempted to justify the persecutions of the Jews in her country by placing the entire blame on the Jews themselves. Mme. Ragozin propagated the old anti-Semitic charges that Jews were conspiring against all Gentiles, and as her authority she cited a book *Le Livre du Kahal*, published in Russia in 1869, written by a renegade Jew, Jacob Brafmann, and supposedly based on the Talmud.

Emma Lazarus was shaken out of her complacency by this vicious article. This was the spark that set her aflame. In the very next issue of *Century* her impassioned reply and vehement refutation

of the Ragozin-Brafmann anti-Jewish charges was published under the title "Russian Christianity versus Modern Judaism." For the first time in her life Miss Lazarus emerged in a new role as spokesman and defender of her people by applying her talent as a poet and essayist to disprove the falsities of its slanderers. The tone of her reply is clearly expressed in the following quotation from her article:

There is but one answer to the charges against the Jews which Brafmann professes to base upon quotations from the Talmud: they are singly and collectively false. They have not even the doubtful merit of originality, being simply a revamping of the wearisome old perversions, garblings, distortions, mistranslations of the spirit and letter of the text, which have been fully refuted by documents familiar to the whole reading public. For the subtle meaning of the Talmud we need not go to a bribed renegade and thief . . .

Then, to emphasize how Jews are blamed for everything that does or does not happen, Emma Lazarus quoted this brief aphorism from the Talmud: "When the pitcher falls upon the stone, woe unto the pitcher! When the stone falls upon the pitcher, woe unto the pitcher! Whatever befalls, woe unto the pitcher!"

From this time on, Emma Lazarus turned her full literary genius, her entire attention and efforts, to the vindication of her people, to the espousal of their age-old dreams, and to comforting them along their suffering way in life. Her verses began to glow with human fire, her essays reflected a deep understanding of Jewish martyrdom. She now devoted much time to the study of the Bible, Jewish history, and the Hebrew language. She developed a keen interest in Jewish problems, Jewish relief activities, and Jewish education. The more she learned about Jews and Judaism, the more she fell in love with her people, with its concept of life and its role in the furtherance of world civilization.

Emma Lazarus had come home to her people for the remaining six years of her

life. These were the years when she made her greatest literary contributions and staked out her claim to a leading position in American literature of the period. She cast overboard her fascination for Greek mythology and the beauty of nature, and now concentrated on Jewish themes, primarily of historical content. She urged all Jews to stand united, to fight for their rights as human beings, and to aim for new heights and new glories as in the days of the Maccabees. It was during the early 1880's, shortly after she had gone through her great transformation, that she penned these lines in her poem "The Banner of the Jew," which seem so appropriate to events of our day:

"Oh, for Jerusalem's trumpet now,
To blow a blast of shattering power,
To wake the sleepers high and low,
And rouse them to the urgent hour;
No hand for vengeance, but to save,
A million naked swords should wave.
Oh, deem not dead that martial fire,
Say not the mystic flame is spent!
With Moses' law and David's lyre,
Your ancient strength remains unbent.
Let but an Ezra rise anew,
To lift the Banner of the Jew!"

At about the same time appeared "The Dance to Death," a dramatic poem in five acts, which is considered her best and most powerful literary contribution. The theme is laid in the medieval Thuringian city of Nordhausen, where the Jews are accused of poisoning the wells and causing the Black Death. The entire Jewish community is sentenced to be burned at the stake and though many perish Judaism scores a spiritual triumph and manages to survive. As the Jews of Nordhausen march to their death, dressed in their best holiday clothes and carrying the Holy Scrolls, the Perpetual Lamp and the seven-branched candelabra of the synagogue, they are greeted by the jeers and insults of the inflamed and fanatical populace. Suddenly, the frightened little band of martyrs bursts out in song to drown out the jeers and the insults:

"We die a thousand deaths—drown, bleed,
and burn.
Yet the wild winds cherish the sacred
seed,
The waters guard it in their crystal
heart,
The fire refuseth to consume.
Even as we die in honor, from our death
Shall bloom a myriad heroic lives,
Brave through our bright example, vir-
tuous
Lest our great memory fall in disrepute."

How timely and appropriate are such lines in these post-Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen days! It is here that Emma Lazarus displays prophetic vision, and it is in the same work of art that she turns her back on the world and proclaims aloud:

"... No more of that.
I am all Israel's now—till the cloud pass,
I have no thought, no passion, no desire,
Save for my people . . ."

Emma Lazarus' six fruitful years between 1882 and 1887 also saw the creation of other fine literary works from her pen. Among these were "The Crowing of the Red Cock," which was termed by Whittier as a "forceful lyric worthy of the Maccabean age;" "By the Waters of Babylon," which the late Henrietta Szold considered as Miss Lazarus' strongest bid for literary distinction; and "The New Ezekiel," a short poem in which she advocates the re-establishment of Palestine as the homeland of the Jewish people. In the latter work she again speaks in prophetic vein as follows:

"The Spirit is not dead, proclaim the
word,
Where lay dead bone, a host of armed
men stand!
I ope your graves, my people, saith the
Lord,
And I shall place you in your Promised
Land."

Nor should be overlooked the little volume *Songs of a Semite*, published in the same period, which included some of her own poetry and translations of the medieval poets of the Golden Era of He-

brew literature in Spain: Judah Halevy, Solomon Ibn Gabriel, Moses Ibn Ezra, and others. This volume was dedicated "to the memory of George Eliot, the illustrious writer who did most . . . towards elevating and ennobling the spirit of Jewish nationality."

Emma Lazarus must have been writing at a furious pace in her last years, as if driven on by supernatural force, in an effort to express the fire and the passion which had accumulated in her during the earlier period. She was a frequent contributor to various English and English-Jewish publications where she often discussed Jewish problems. The best known of her prose writings was the series of 16 essays on Jewish affairs, entitled "Epistles to the Hebrews," which appeared in *The American Hebrew* late in 1882 and the early months of 1883. In one of these "Epistles" (February 24, 1883), she advocated a program for the Jewish people:

My chief aim has been to contribute my mite towards arousing that spirit of Jewish enthusiasm which might manifest itself: first, in a return to the varied pursuits and broad system of physical and intellectual education adopted by our ancestors; second, in a more fraternal and practical movement towards alleviating the sufferings of oppressed Jews in countries less favored than our own; third, in a closer and wider study of Hebrew literature and history; and finally, in a truer recognition of the large principles of religion, liberty, and law upon which Judaism is founded, and which should draw into harmonious unity Jews of every shade of opinion.

Although written 65 years ago, her program for Judaism still retains much that is timely and commendable in our own times. But she did more than just preach. She also became actively interested in fostering the movement for technical education among Jewish immigrants to make them economically self-supporting and instigated Jewish leaders in New York to establish the Hebrew Technical Institute. She made several return visits to Ward's Island and sought in every

possible way to aid the needy Jewish immigrants.

She also made two trips to Europe during the last years of her life, one in 1883 and the other in 1885, and was acknowledged public recognition in England, France, and other countries. Frail of body, her health had been failing rapidly and now during her second trip she became seriously ill in Paris. She was brought back to New York in July, 1887, where she died less than four months later on November 19, 1887. Death came to Emma Lazarus when she was only 38 years old and at the height of her brilliant literary career. Her passing was mourned by Jews and non-Jews alike, who recognized and appreciated her contribution to American literature and to the enrichment of American Jewish life.

Her most famous poem, "The New Colossus," was born under very interesting circumstances. A fund for \$300,000 was being raised by the American people in the 1880's for building a pedestal upon which to place the Statue of Liberty. Various projects and devices were used by public-spirited citizens to obtain the necessary amount. One of these citizens, Mrs. Constance Cary Harrison, had undertaken the publication of a "portfolio" (known today as "souvenir journal") of poetry and sketches by celebrated authors and artists.

One day, in 1883, she approached Emma Lazarus for some appropriate verses, but the latter refused to write anything "to order." Whereupon Mrs. Harrison suggested almost admonishingly: "Think of the Goddess of Liberty standing on her pedestal yonder in the bay, and holding the torch out to those Russian refugees you are so fond of visiting at Ward's Island." Two days later Mrs. Harrison received a sonnet entitled "The New Colossus," which has since been recognized as a poetic gem. Twenty years later, in 1903, it was inscribed on a plaque and placed in the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty.

In this sonnet one can easily perceive

the great love for and faith in America which formed such an integral part in the life and thinking of Emma Lazarus, and her deep understanding and sympathy for the persecuted of all lands. At the same time, one also wonders how much richer American literature and American Jewish life would have been

had she lived and created for at least another five or ten years. Her voice was silenced all too soon. Although her life was so tragically brief, her noble soul and humane heart are today symbolized in the Goddess of Liberty—the New Colossus whom she described with such eloquence, pathos, and emotion.

THE NEW COLOSSUS

By EMMA LAZARUS

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land,
Here at our sea-washed sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free;
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore—
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me—
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place of ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.

From the Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty (1786)

Mahatma Gandhi

By D. N. PATHAK

ON AUGUST 15, 1947, one fifth of the human race found itself free from the yoke of foreign rule that had lasted over a hundred and fifty years. It was a memorable day not only in the history of India but also in the annals of world history. The transfer of power took place at New Delhi amidst jubilant celebrations unsurpassed in the recent history of India. But the person who brought deliverance to India was somewhere remote in a little far off corner of India wiping the tears of the exiles.

The recent partition of India into the Dominion of India and Dominion of Pakistan was a great disappointment to Gandhi. It was the greatest political defeat he had ever suffered; nay, it was the reversal of his lifework. How could he forget those days of the Khilafat Movement (1920) when Hindus and Moslems fraternized in every town and every city of India? How could he forget those Khudai Khidmatgars or Red Shirt Pathans of the Northwest Frontier who had given up their war-like habits to follow the difficult path of non-violence? How was he to reconcile himself to the forced mass migrations which he had several times opposed as absurd and senseless? He was never going to be a party to the heartless vivisection of the country which was one geographically, politically, and culturally. Apparently, the partition cast doubts over his theory of the "communal triangle" wherein the foreign rule acted like a wedge dividing the people. Removal of the foreign rule was to be accompanied not by the healing of division but rather its accentuation as never before. Gandhi steadfastly clung to his principles and

worked indefatigably for communal harmony and reunification of the divided country. Alone he stood like a rock while the communal passions surged all around him. He felt, as he said to his followers, as if a thousand daggers were piercing his body. On his last birthday he said, "With every breath I pray God to give me strength to quench the flames or remove me from this earth. I, who staked my life to gain India's independence, do not wish to be a living witness to its destruction." Gandhi's assassination was, indeed, a martyrdom for the cause of communal unity.*

Gandhi's public life in India began round 1915 after his return from South Africa where he had first launched his Satyagraha movement ending in the Gandhi-Smuts agreement of 1914. During 1917 he launched two Satyagraha movements—one in Champaran (Bihar) and other in Khaira (Gujrat)—to redress the agrarian grievances of the peasants. The success he achieved in these small scale movements confirmed his belief in the efficacy of this new weapon. During the sessions of the Amritsar Congress (1919) Gandhi emerged as an undisputed leader of the people in their fight to achieve emancipation from the foreign rule. From now on the history of India could be read in the biography of Gandhi. The period which followed may be aptly characterized as the "Gandhian Epoch." In 1921 a country-wide movement of non-violent

* Gandhi's cruel assassination, it seems, was engineered by an extremist section of Hindu Mahasabha, an out and out communal body, which stood for an Hindu India and elimination of Moslems.

non-cooperation was launched against the Rowlett Bill. There was a magnificent response from the people. But to the great disappointment of his followers Gandhi suddenly suspended the movement when he heard of the mob outrage at Chauri Chura. With his usual sincerity he openly admitted his "Himalayan blunder." During his trial in 1922, when he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment, he made a stirring appeal vindicating his cause. Gandhi had never been interested in parliamentary activities and during the early twenties he remained aloof from such activities then carried on by the Swarajya Party in the Congress. Later on, in 1928, he led the No Tax campaign at Bardoli (Gujrat). Vallabhbhai Patel played a prominent part in this movement and won the title of Sardar (General) from the people. On March 12, 1930, Gandhi started on his historic march from Ahmedabad to Dandi to break the Salt Tax Law. The whole nation was electrified and in spite of widespread arrests and the inhuman attacks of the police, the people stood the test of non-violence. The movement came to its end with the negotiation of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact in March, 1931. He visited London the same year to attend the Round Table Conference but returned without any final settlement. On his return he was arrested. While behind the prison bars he undertook fasts to register his protests against the Communal Award. He was later released in May 1933.

During the thirties he mainly devoted himself to the removal of untouchability and encouragement of cottage industries, especially spinning. During the last war, in 1940, Gandhi started the Individual Satyagraha movement wherein Congressmen chosen by him singly protested against India's forceful participation in the War and asserted the right of free expression of opinion. After the failure of the Cripps proposals which he characterized in his inimitable way as "a post-dated cheque on a failing bank," Gandhi

launched one of his greatest movements on August 9, 1942, on the basis of the famous "Quit India" resolution. He was released later on in 1945 and played the most outstanding role in the negotiations with the British Cabinet Mission which ultimately brought independence to India.

Except in 1924 when he presided over the Congress session at Belgaum, Gandhi has never held any official position in the Congress. Yet during the last twenty-five years he was its sole guide and piloted it through arduous paths. Before Gandhi's advent in India's political life the Congress was a small organization confined to the upper strata of society. The annual sessions of the Congress were held in big cities; eloquent outpourings in English and passing of pious resolutions were the order of the day. The Congress leaders displayed almost a pathetic faith in the British promises of the gradual grant of self-government and, on the whole, remained loyal. Gandhi not only transformed the Congress into a huge mass organization but turned it into a fighting body insistent upon wresting Swarajya (literally-self-government) from the unwilling hands of the British.

To the dumb millions of India Gandhi appeared as a ray of hope. Here was a man who would deliver them from their woes as no one had ever done. Clad in loin cloth he identified himself completely with the masses and gave an articulate expression to their manifold ills. To the leaders of the Congress he showed a new untrodden way to fight the foreign rule. Simplicity became the prime virtue of the Congressmen; sacrifice, a badge of honour. Loyal servants of the Crown gave up their lucrative jobs and turned into rebels. Lawyers and judges left their practices and joined the Congress. Students marched out of their schools and colleges and rallied round him. India's unarmed multitudes faced lathi charges and bayonets with smiling faces and courted imprisonment. There was not a soul in India who remained unaffected.

Gandhi's name became a by-word for emancipation and self-government. He travelled widely and visited every nook and corner of the country. By speeches, the printed word (he edited in turn three papers—*Young India*, *Navjeevan*, and later *Harijan*) and assiduous work Gandhi challenged the mightiest empire of modern times.

Gandhi's struggle with British imperialism was, in the ultimate analysis, a "moral" struggle. For him the British rule in India stood for the exploitation of the Indian people against their will. Under such a rule India became a vast prison house in which free popular expression was denied. He appealed to the better conscience of the British people. How could they justify their love for individual liberty and democratic governance before the world when they kept four hundred millions of peoples prostrate under the crushing burdens of their imperial rule? Such a rule was the greatest evil. It was unjust, unethical, immoral. But he went further. Was not freedom the birthright of the Indian nation? Was it not an Englishman who said that good-government is no substitute for self-government? Britain must wash her hands clean of this moral guilt.

However, his struggle was directed not against the English people but against their imperial system. He rightly claimed many Englishmen as his friends. People like Madeline Slade and C. F. Andrews became his life-long followers. He was greatly influenced by Ruskin's "Unto this Last" and translated it into his own mother tongue. Though a "Grand Rebel" and an anti-imperialist, he was the most sincere friend of the British people. As he once observed, "I am not anti-English; I am not anti-British; I am not anti-any government; but I am anti-untruth, anti-humbug, and anti-injustice. So long as the government spells injustice it may regard me as its enemy, its implacable enemy." Gandhi never wished ill of Britain. His policy of non-embarrass-

ment* during the first two years of the last War was the most eloquent testimony of it. His willingness to compromise at any stage of the struggle was phenomenal.

Gandhi combined in him Tolstoi's love for pacifism with Thoreau's idea of passive resistance. With a humility only equalled by Christ and Buddha he put his creed of non-violence to a practical test. "My creed is non-violence under all circumstances," he said; "my method is conversion not coercion, it is self-suffering, not the suffering of the tyrant." Normally it is physical force which has remained the decisive factor in political struggle. Satyagraha (soul-force or truth-force) was an entirely new technique in the political field. At the basis of this new technique lies a deep faith in the goodness of the human heart. It recognises the evil in men but believes that the good and the just triumph over the evil and the unjust. This triumph is to be brought about by a genuine conversion of the heart, not by coercion. Such a conversion is to be effected by inflicting suffering on one's self. Suffering, endless suffering, carries home the intensity of one's own conviction and ultimately melts the stoniest of hearts. Victories of Satyagraha are achieved by love, humility, and forgiveness. Such conquests by love bring about permanent results wherein enemies become ever-lasting friends. Non-violence is the very essence of Satyagraha. A true Satyagrahi has no other weapons except his own self-discipline and love for truth and justice.

Gandhi did not belong to any political school. He never clothed his political program in the jargon of the popular politician. He was no demagogue. "The Gandhian Way" was a unique way both of life and political philosophy. In his deep faith in the common man, his un-

*It is fairly well known that Britain entered the last War unprepared. People suggested to Gandhi to start a movement at that 'auspicious' moment. But Gandhi refused to embarrass the British in their hour of plight.

shaken belief in the fundamental rights of all people, and in political and religious tolerance Gandhi appears as a great democrat. He rebelled against oppression by man over man; loathed unfair discrimination, and opposed the very idea of war. Though a great social reformer he never favoured violent upheavals. In this he differed from the socialist or any other Leftist group. However, he excelled them in his love for the poor and his unremitting work for their uplift. A Grand Rebel against the British Empire he was not content with making independence of India an end in itself. Through independence he wanted to elevate "the dumb, half-starved, half-naked millions" of India. His eyes were on the world. He wanted free India to play her role in world affairs; to free by her example and efforts the oppressed peoples of the world. India had a moral mission to fulfill. "If you want to give a message to the West, it must be a message of love, it must be a message of truth," he said to the Asian Conference which met at New Delhi last Spring. Gandhi's teaching had no geographical limits. He thus symbolized the great ideal of international brotherhood. Perhaps it is futile to give any political label to Gandhi. He can hardly fit in the strait-jacket of any political philosophy. He towers high above them. An arch-anti-imperialist, a great internationalist, and above all a supreme pacifist Gandhi combined in him the qualities of saintliness and statesmanship.

For generations to come India will bear the imprint of all that Gandhi has done during his lifetime. He subjected himself to the lowliest work in behalf of sanitation and cleanliness. Whatever he did acquired a dramatic significance of deep psychological import. Nothing escaped his attention; nothing was too small for him. By his message and lifework he awakened the Indians from their apathetic slumber and roused them to their sense of responsibility. As one Indian writer observes, "Out of dust he created us men." To the

inarticulate and ignorant masses of India he gave a new sense of self-respect and self-reliance. He mercilessly exposed all the evils of Indian society. He stood for the emancipation of women, removal of untouchability, encouragement of widow marriage, and abolition of early marriage, for the removal of caste barriers, communal harmony, and the prohibition of strong drink. In the economic sphere he firmly advocated the boycott of British goods and the increasing output and consumption of "swadeshi" (home-made) products. His idea of home-spun cloth (khadi) was no fad of a visionary but a practical plan of far-reaching importance. His constructive program consisted of village sanitation, medical work among the poor, the promotion of spinning and other cottage industries, adult education, the study of Hindustani, communal amity, religious tolerance, and the uplift of the poor and the outcasts. "Gandhian Economics" did not exclude entirely, as is popularly believed, the use of the machine. What it abhors is the enslavement of man by the over-concentration of the machine—which leaves no scope for creative work. Is not the spinning wheel a machine too? he used to say. Economists of India have lately realized the worth of Gandhi's economic ideas. In an overpopulated country like India, where there is no shortage of labour, too much reliance on machine production may lead to unemployment.

In the field of art and literature Gandhi stood for simplicity and realism. He wrote and spoke in the vernacular languages and especially in Hindustani. In the last thirty years, properly called the Gandhian Era, India has passed through a renaissance. Though never directly connected with any artistic activity, he released the minds of the people from their old grooves and gave them a new perspective in art and literature. Many a writer and artist derived inspiration from Gandhi's noble life. A new interest was evinced in classical and devotional music, the

classical dance, and ancient literature.

Perhaps Gandhi was removed from the political scene when he was most needed. He has not left a farewell address as Washington did when he retired from active political life. But he has said, written, and worked more than a man could normally do in a lifetime. For generations to come political leaders of India will find inspiration in Gandhi's message. There is no sphere of Indian life wherein his influence has not been felt. He gave new orientation to the entire life of the people. Already his scheme of Basic Education has been introduced in most of the provinces; India even when industrialized will not do away with the cottage industries which Gandhi so dearly loved. Hindustani, the lingua franca, is fast replacing English as the official language of the country; prohibition of liquor has already found its place in the statute books of several provincial Legislatures, even though it means a substantial loss in revenue. Untouchability has been made illegal by the Constituent Assembly of India. The long-awaited reforms in Indian society—abolition of early marriage, emancipation of women, and encouragement of widow marriage—are no longer Utopian dreams. Suppression of communal organizations has been vigorously pursued by the Government. In her foreign relations India has fought against discrimination in South Africa and championed the cause of the Indonesians in their fight for freedom.

In the generations to come, it will scarcely be believed that such a one as Gandhi ever walked this earth. He was the father of the Indian nation, indeed, he was the Indian nation. In his person were symbolized the aspirations, qualities, and indivisible unity of the Indian nation.

He was the architect of India's freedom through non-violence. He has written a new chapter in the history of the world, for he led his nation to achieve by truth and non-violence that which always before was achieved through war and violence, through bloody revolution and its trail of misery. With malice towards none, with charity for all, this Prophet of Peace struggled for justice and tolerance between man and man. By any human standard he was the greatest man in our time not only of India and Asia but perhaps of the world. So long as there are men on this earth his name will echo in the corridors of history.

RETROSPECT

By ELEANOR ALLETTA CHAFFEE

If I were twenty-one again
The alphabet of grief
Would be as unfamiliar
As any printed leaf
Whereon a paragraph, postponed,
Meant little to the eye,
While flesh and spirit still possessed
The earth, the sea, the sky.

But now that text and lesson
Are learned by line, by heart,
And every sorrow is a map
Of which I own a chart.
I think, I would not care to be
So young as that once more:
And grief, grown tame, is crying
For shelter, at my door. . . .

Texans Too Are Human

By MORRIS FREEDMAN

THERE are three traditional places in the army where Negroes are not segregated from white soldiers: officer candidate school, the guardhouse, and the hospital.

Before I was discharged, I was confined to the isolation ward of a hospital on a small army post in Texas. There were three other patients in the ward: Winter, a slight, up-state New York boy with acute tonsilitis; Franks, a gigantic Texan with a glandular outbreak on the back of his neck; and Johnson, also a Texan but a Negro, who had the same thing I had, acute nasopharyngitis, which is the army's fancy name for a cold with fever.

We were scattered all over the ward with no two of us together because there were plenty of beds. Our daily routine was shared by two others: Nevez, a Mexican ward boy, and our nurse, a tall, narrowish, pretty-faced Texas girl who when she first came on duty, told us to call her Jonesy.

Jonesy was just out of nursing school in Dallas and was alternately efficient and confused, but she never lost her insipid pleasantness. It seemed it was not until she came to this ward she first learned that Negroes were hospitalized indiscriminately with whites in the army. She continued to stare at Johnson for several days, during which time she never said a word to him.

Then, one morning, either because she had spoken to someone the night before or because she got used to him lying there in bed, she asked him along with the rest of us how he was. He replied soberly that he was good and she nodded just as soberly and went on with her

work. I'm almost sure that she was not conscious of doing anything different. However, she never asked during her introductory days if he wanted an alcohol back rub, and one day when the doctor thought his fever was too high to permit him to take a shower she told Nevez to give him a sponge bath. She always did that herself for the rest of us.

We were all at about the same stage in our illnesses. None of us was seriously sick, but after our respective crises were reached we were kept in for long periods of observation and convalescence. Except for the doctor's round, meals, temperature takings, linen changes, back rubs, shaving, and shower sessions, the day was empty. We slept, read, wrote, did puzzles, listened to the radio, or played cards. Nevez was a card fiend and organized daily games.

At first Johnson did not join in the games. We played on an empty bed, the three white patients and Nevez, with Johnson leaning on one of the posts and watching intently but never making any personal kibitzing comments. When someone else made a comment, he'd join in with some appropriate remark or laughter.

One day Nevez was called away and Franks, a hearty kind of person, asked Johnson if he wanted to play. Johnson said yes and we continued the game. After that, the game would start when any four of the five were around and no favoritism was ever shown as to which four.

Johnson was almost as big as Franks and much more muscular. He was extremely black so that his skin often glistened when he was sweating. His

features were typically, almost excessively Negroid: thick lips, flat nose, and so on. He seemed to be popular with the Negro women in the neighboring city, for he received practically daily letters from three different ones.

"One's my wife," he once explained, "the others would like to be. I've got to put them in line." He grinned. "I've got two children by my wife and one by the third in line."

He never answered any of the mail. "Don't believe in writing letters," he said, but he may not have been sufficiently literate.

He never entered a conversation on his own. Someone always had to ask him something first. He would answer then to the point, perhaps expand a little, but he was never deferential or politic.

Jonesy became hostilely conscious of him again when she noticed us playing cards in a group. This time, however, she kept staring at Franks, who she knew was also from Texas. She didn't say anything but again ignored Johnson in the morning and stopped asking Franks how he was. I don't believe Franks was aware of her change and anyway he was discharged several days later.

Franks' discharge threatened to break up our card playing since Nevez was often gone, leaving a weak three. We continued playing three together but the atmosphere was not so full as it used to be. One day, about an hour after dinner, when Jonesy had taken our temperatures, pulses, and had accommodated two of us with back rubs, she announced that well, now she could relax for a little while. Nevez wasn't around and we hadn't started our game yet.

"Look, Jonesy," I said, getting out of bed and putting on my sandals, "how about joining us in a little rummy?"

"Oh, no," she automatically said. "Oh, sure," I said, "Nevez always does. You can always break away." She only said, "Well," and I said, "Swell, I'll set it up."

I got the domino blocks, which we used as currency, and the cards, and placed three chairs around an empty bed, for her, for Winter and for myself.

As we were gathering around, I stopped. "Hey, Johnson," I called, "are you going to join us?"

"Sure," he said and got out of bed. I told him to bring his chair.

Jonesy stopped in the middle of her sitting down, straightened herself out, and walked away. Johnson hesitated in his dressing. "Let's go Johnson," I said, "we're all ready."

The next afternoon, the same three of us, Johnson, Winter, and myself, were again playing and Jonesy came up and watched, leaning on the post the way Johnson used to.

"Join us?" I asked. "No, thanks. I have only a minute." "Well, sit down anyway." "No, I've got to run along."

She came back for several more such minutes but declined a chair each time.

The next day she sat down beside me. I held my cards out so she could look at them and we sort of played the hand together. Once when Johnson was slow in picking up a card, she said, "You go, Johnson."

Without looking up, he said, "Yes, I know."

I looked at her, but she was too absorbed in the cards and took the turn of my head as a kind of signal to whisper something in my ear about the hand. The next morning she spoke to Johnson again and that afternoon she joined the game.

After three or four days of playing with us, she asked Johnson whether he wanted a back rub when she asked Winter and me. A little frightened, he said, "No thanks, but I appreciate that."

"Well, that's what I'm here for," Jonesy said matter-of-factly.

Johnson and I were discharged at the same time two days later. He refused a back rub the other two times Jonesy offered it.

American Jewish Scholarship Today

By RALPH MARCUS

FOR ALMOST a century the United States has been the great haven of refuge for the masses of East European Jews. Only recently has it taken second place to Palestine in the dreams of the survivors of the Nazis' murderous fury. On American Jewry rests not only most of the responsibility for the physical well-being of world-Jewry but also much of that for preserving Jewish culture. Next to Palestine the United States is now the greatest intellectual center of Judaism. The co-existence of two great centers of Jewish culture is a familiar fact of Jewish history since the beginning of the Diaspora. First there were Palestine and Alexandria, later Palestine and Babylonia, then Spain and Franco-Germany, Italy and Poland, Eastern Europe and Germany, and now Palestine and the United States.

A comprehensive survey of American institutions and scholars devoted to the study of Jews and Judaism would fill a fair-sized volume. The present article is intended merely to indicate the resources of professional Jewish scholarship in the fields of Bible, Talmud, Theology, Philosophy, History, and other aspects of our long tradition of learning and cultural achievement.

Though we are here concerned with the work of living scholars, it seems appropriate to recall the names of some of the great scholars of the recent past who laid the foundations of scientific work in Jewish fields. Prominent among these pioneers were David Blondheim, Moses Bottenwieser, Israel Davidson, Gotthard Deutsch, Zevi Diesendruck, Arnold B. Ehrlich, Israel Eitan, Aaron Ember, Abraham S. Freidus, Israel Friedlander,

Richard Gottheil, B. Halper, Emil Hirsch, Jacob Hoschander, Isaac Husik, Kaufman Kohler, Morris Jastrow, George A. Kohut, Jacob Lauterbach, Caspar Levias, Henry Malter, Jacob Mann, Max L. Margolis, David Neumark, Bernard Revel, and Solomon Shechter. Besides these there were many non-professional Jewish scholars who contributed valuable works, such as Hyman G. Enelow and Max J. Kohler. The list of deceased scholars might be greatly extended.

Since our present interest is chiefly in those scholars who are connected with institutions of higher learning, we may first glance at some of the seminaries and colleges where Jewish learning is being fostered. Perhaps the leading schools and institutes are Dropsie College in Philadelphia, the Hebrew Theological College in Chicago, Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and the Jewish Institute of Religion, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Yeshiva University and the Yiddish Scientific Institute, all in New York City. Scattered throughout the country are excellent schools for the training of Hebrew teachers, which include some very competent scholars on their staffs. The best known of these are the Baltimore Hebrew College, the Boston Hebrew Teachers' College, the College of Jewish Studies in Chicago, Gratz College in Philadelphia, and the Teachers' Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York City.

A unique institution, which serves as an agency for large projects of research and publication, is the American Academy for Jewish Research, now almost thirty years old. It has a general member-

ship of several hundreds and a small body of Fellows, most of them on the faculties of seminaries or universities.

There are also several Foundations which have contributed generously to the costs of research and publication in various fields of Jewish scholarship. Among these are the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation, the Esco Fund, the Littauer Foundation, the Matz Fund and the Rabinowitz Foundation at Yale University.

One of the most significant steps in the promotion of Jewish scholarship is the establishment of chairs of Jewish studies at several great universities. The two most influential are the Littauer Professorship at Harvard University and the Miller Professorship at Columbia University. There are more modest endowments at Duke University, New York University, and elsewhere.

Essential to scholarship is the existence of learned journals and serial publications. American Jewry may take pride in the fact that the number of scholarly periodicals devoted to Jewish learning is gradually increasing. Among such publications are *Bitzaron*, *Ha-Tekufah*, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, *Historia Judaica*, *Horeb*, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, *Jewish Social Science Quarterly*, *Jewish Social Studies*, *Menorah Journal*, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, *Sefer Ha-Shanah*, *Shevile Ha-Hinuk*, *Yidishe Sprakh* and *Yivo Bletter*. Among the Jewish publishing houses that have encouraged scholarship particularly are the Bloch Publishing Company, Behrman's, Jewish Publication Society, the Schocken Verlag and the Stybel Foundation.

It must be admitted that the number of institutional resources for the promotion of Jewish studies is not great in relation to the size and wealth of the American Jewish community. And in comparison with the intellectual enterprise of the much smaller and poorer community of

Jews in Palestine our own achievement does not entitle us to feel complacent. But Jewish scholarship in this country is just beginning to mature, and it gives promise of reaching the high level attained by the older communities of Europe.

Before we proceed to mention and classify the professional Jewish scholars of this country, we must reluctantly make an invidious distinction between professional scholars and learned Rabbis, even though we fully recognize that some Rabbis have contributed as richly to Jewish learning as have many of those who are known as professional scholars. The reason and justification for making this distinction is that we are here making a survey of the organized and institutional aspects of Jewish scholarship in the hope of enlisting the interest and support of the general community for the cause of Jewish learning. One of the oldest of Jewish traditions is that of the learned Rabbi but by the force of circumstance the American Rabbi finds himself so fully occupied with communal work that he seldom has time for serious scholarship. Nevertheless, a number of Rabbis have managed to preserve this fine old tradition and have produced excellent works in various fields of Jewish scholarship. A list of all the Rabbis who have made significant contributions to scholarship would take a disproportionate amount of space in this brief study. The following have been selected merely as representative of many different fields: Irving Agus; Jacob Agus; Herbert Bloom; Ben Zion Bokser; William Braude; Mortimer J. Cohen; I. Elfenbein; Louis Epstein; George Fox; Solomon Freehof; Solomon Goldman; Abram Goodman; Morris Gutstein; Bernard Heller; A. M. Hershman; Max Kadushin; Felix Levy; Isidor Meyer; Jacob Minkin; Louis Newman; David de Sola Pool; Elias Rabinowitz; Max Raisin; I. Sarachek; A. H. Silver; Milton Steinberg; Israel Tabak; Sidney Tedesche; Joshua Trachtenberg; Liutpold Wallach; Frank Zimmerman.

Nor should we overlook the service rendered to scholarship by journalists, anthologists, translators and popularizers, many of whom have given up scholarly research in order to reach wider audiences. Of a large number of such writers one might mention Emily Solis Cohen, Eliezer Greenberg, Meyer Levin, Marvin Lowenthal, Isaac Rosenfeld, Trude Weiss Rosmarin, Maurice Samuels, Leo Schwarz and Jacob Slonim.

In dealing with the professional Jewish scholars of this country we shall for convenience divide the whole area of Jewish study into six fields: Bible and Ancient Oriental Studies; Rabbinitics; Philosophy and Theology; Social Studies; Literature and Bibliography; History. It is impossible to avoid overlapping, but we shall arbitrarily assign every scholar to only one field. The following lists are not exhaustive but it is hoped that they have not failed to include the most competent scholars in the various fields.

It may come as a surprise to many readers that although the Jews have long been known as "the people of the book," traditional Jewish scholarship has dealt less extensively and methodically with the Bible than with Rabbinic explanations and amplifications of the Bible. Still less has been its concern with the ancient Oriental background of Israelite history and thought. Candor compels us reluctantly to admit that until fairly recently Christian scholars have contributed more to the understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures than have our own. It is therefore the more gratifying to see Jewish scholars, and notably American Jewish scholars, taking their rightful place among the scientific interpreters of the Bible. Adhering to an uninvincible alphabetic order, we may mention as the most prominent American Jewish scholars in this field: Sheldon Blank; Pinchas Churgin; Samuel Feigin, whose fine knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian as well as of Hebrew enables him to explore many obscure problems of the Biblical

text; Bernard Geiger, an eminent Iranian philologist; Theodor Gaster, and expert on Semitic Religion and Folklore; H. L. Ginsberg, an interpreter of Ugaritic (ancient Canaanite) literature, and a leading authority on ancient Hebrew grammar; Nelson Glueck, famous archeologist and discoverer of many ancient sites in Transjordan; Cyrus Gordon, an expert in Semitic languages; Robert Gordis, who uses his knowledge of Rabbinic Hebrew to explain many difficult passages in the Bible; Julius H. Greenstone; Zellig Harris, an outstanding linguist; Chaim Heller, well known as an interpreter and textual critic; Julius Lewy, able Assyriologist as well as Biblical scholar; Isaac Mendelsohn; Julian Morgenstern, probably the best known Jewish exponent of "higher criticism;" Julian Obermann; Harry Orlinsky, who has contributed significantly to the study of the Septuagint (Greek translation of the Bible) and of Hebrew grammar; Joseph Reider; Chaim Reines; Ephraim Speiser, well known archaeologist; Alexander Sperber, who has written important works on Hebrew grammar and on the texts of the Targum and Septuagint; Eugen Taubler, distinguished classical scholar and ancient historian; Max Vogelstein, also an ancient historian as well as Biblical expert; A. S. Yahuda, who has written much on the Egyptian background of the Bible; Joseph Zuckerbram.

The field of Rabbinitics, including post-Talmudic Halakah, is, of course, almost the exclusive possession of Jewish scholars (though it is interesting to note, in passing, that in the last few decades, as earlier, in the Renaissance and Reformation periods, a number of Christian scholars have attained fair competence in this field). Of the Talmudists in this generation of American scholars the following are probably best known: Samuel Atlas; Samuel Belkin; Boaz Cohen; Louis Finkelstein, who combines solid scholarship with important administrative duties; Louis Ginzberg, who is generally re-

garded as a Gaon or master of the entire field of Jewish scholarship, and, in his seventies, is working steadily to complete his monumental Hebrew commentary on the Palestinian Talmud; Alexander Gutmann; Michael Higger; Saul Lieberman, who has a good knowledge of classical philology as well as an expert knowledge of Talmud; Samuel Mirsky; Chaim Tchernowitz, known to orthodox scholars as Rav Tsair; Abraham Weiss; Solomon Zeitlin.

In Jewish Philosophy and Theology we have not only distinguished newcomers from Europe but also a growing number of American-trained scholars. The list of workers in this field includes the following: Joseph Blau; Samuel Cohon; Abraham Cronbach; Israel Efros, poet as well as historian of philosophy; Emil Fackenheim; Nahum Glatzer, a skilful popularizer as well as competent scholar; Judah Goldin; Abraham Heschel, able descendant of a famous Hasidic family; Mordecai Kaplan, who is an influential moulder of Jewish thought as well as a respected teacher; Samuel Kurland; Mose Maisels; Abraham Menes; Henry Rosenthal, who possesses great literary gifts; Henry Slonimsky, who has deeply influenced many Rabbis by his oral teaching; Leo Strauss, especially versed in the history of political thought; Max Wiener; and last in alphabetic order but first in eminence, Harry A. Wolfson of Harvard University, one of the greatest historians of philosophy in our time, widely known through his masterly books on Spinoza and Philo, which form part of a monumental series on the history of European religious philosophy.

In the related fields of psychology, sociology, and education we may mention: Samuel Blumenfeld; Ben Edidin; Abraham Katsch; Jacob Lestchinsky; A. A. Roback; Nisson Touroff, author of a fine *History of Psychology in Hebrew*, and many other works on this subject.

Particularly broad are the fields of

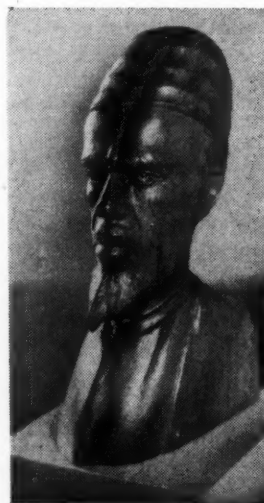
Jewish Literature and Bibliography, since they include not only Hebrew and Yiddish but also Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Spanish, to say nothing of the literature concerning Jews in modern languages, which we shall here omit. Among the scholars interested in Jewish literature written in the four languages mentioned above, the following are perhaps best known: S. Abelow; Simeon Bernstein; A. V. Besso; Paltiel Birnbaum; Joshua Bloch, known to hundreds of researchers as the Head of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library; Henry Englander; Joshua Finkel; Aaron Freimann, the Dean of Jewish bibliographers; Abraham Halkin, who has worked on Samaritan and Arabic as well as Hebrew texts; Simon Halkin, poet and critic; Morris Lutzki, an outstanding palaeographer; Joseph Marcus, discoverer of fragments of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira among the Geniza documents; Leon Nemoy, editor of an important Karaite work; Isaac Rivkind, active in many fields; Franz Rosenthal, a recognized authority on Aramaic dialects and on Arabic literature; Samuel Rosenblatt (Rabbi as well as professional scholar), who has recently published an excellent translation of Saadia's classical work on philosophy; Judah Rosenthal; Israel Schapiro; Jacob Shatzki; Eysig Silberschlag, poet and gifted critic of modern Hebrew literature; Samuel Skoss, a fine Arabist; Shalom Spiegel, expert in Biblical as well as medieval Hebrew literature; Meyer Waxman, well known for his four-volume *History of Jewish Literature*; Pinchas Wechter; Michael Wilensky.

Coming now to the last of the major fields of Jewish study, that of History, including the history of Jewish Art and Jewish Science, we have so many workers that it is to be feared that some worthy names will be overlooked in any list, however comprehensive it is meant to be. The following, however, are probably those best known: Salo Baron, one of the

most productive and ambitious of Jewish historians, author of an important three-volume Social and Religious History of the Jews and a companion work, also in three volumes, on The Jewish Community; Harry Friedenwald, distinguished physician and historian of Jewish Medicine; Solomon Gandz, probably the leading authority on the history of Jewish Science; Jekuthiel Ginsburg, expert on Jewish mathematical literature; Solomon Grayzel; Hyman Grinstein; Oscar Janowsky; Guido Kisch, the leading authority on medieval German Jewish legal history; Leo Kissmann; Adolf Kober; Hans Kohn; Franz Landsberger; Isaac Levitats; David Macht, who has written many learned articles on Biblical Medicine and Pharmacology; Raphael Mahler; Jacob Marcus; Alexander Marx, who has managed to publish many fine articles on Jewish history in spite of the constant demands made upon his time by scholars all over the world who apply to him for information concerning the treasures of the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, over which he has presided for many years; Abraham A. Neuman, author of an excellent two-volume History of the Jews in Spain; Jacob Rabinowitz; Ellis Rivkin; Isaiah Sonne, who has made important contributions to the philosophy and methodology of Jewish history; Abraham Sachar; Joshua Starr; Zosa Szaykoski; Max Weinreich; Bernard Weinryb; Erich Werner; Mark and Rachel Wischnitzer.

At the end of this brief and inadequate survey we may at least say that American Jewish scholarship has clearly come of age and promises to take its rightful place in the venerable tradition of Jewish learning. If the Jewish scholars of our country are given the material resources

needed for collaborative undertakings as well as for individual research, they will repay their supporters in the community by obtaining for Jewish culture that degree of recognition to which it has always been entitled but which has been denied it, partly because of the neglect of Jews themselves, and partly because Gentile scholars were not sufficiently acquainted with Jewish scholarship to be able to appreciate its merits. It is good to report that American Jewish scholarship seems to be emerging from a long period of neglect into a period of appreciation on the part of non-Jewish scholars as well as of the Jewish community. May it continue to play its significant part in the redemption of Diaspora Judaism, and so be a worthy counterpart of Palestinian scholarship, which has magnificently struggled against even greater difficulties than those which we face here.



A Hindu Jew

BEREL SATT

MIDWESTERN COMMENTARY

by

ELMER GERTZ

WHEN THE ILLINOIS SUPREME COURT WAS hearing oral arguments on the Terminiello case, the attorney for the bigoted priest tried to explain away the Appellate Court opinion affirming his conviction for disorderly conduct.

"Judge Feinberg, who wrote the opinion, is a Jew—" he began.

"The religious beliefs of the judges of the Appellate Court are not in issue," one of the justices interrupted sharply.

The byplay indicated the heartening fact that our Supreme Court had not been taken in by the casuistry of the anti-Semites. The opinion by Justice Wilson and a unanimous court, affirming the conviction, gave further evidence that vile mischief-breeders like Terminiello, Gerald L. K. Smith and Father Coughlin may run into real difficulties in Illinois if they seek to incite breaches of the peace against Jews, Negroes or other groups of Americans who do not share their diseased hatreds.

The court was not fooled by the pretense that the meeting was a private one; nor was it hoodwinked by the contention that freedom of speech was being adversely affected.

"In cases of which the present cause is typical," Justice Wilson said, "it is customary to inject the issue of freedom of speech so as to create the false impression that great constitutional questions are involved and sacred constitutional rights are jeopardized."

Terminiello's speech, the court said,

tended to incite those inside and outside the hall to violence and therefore constituted a diversion tending to a breach of the peace, and thus disorderly conduct. There is no freedom to cause violence.

The case may now go to the United States Supreme Court, where we may hope that the court, following the Cantwell and Chaplinsky holdings, will affirm all of the courts of Illinois. The issue will probably be complicated there by the intervention of the American Civil Liberties Union, which sees in the decision a menace to American liberties.

The Terminiello case illustrates that when there is determination and intelligence in a city law department (such as that displayed by Messrs. Panteles, Iseberg, Segal and Karton), a democracy can cope with its enemies.

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THE ILLINOIS SUPREME COURT SHOWED ITS understanding of other facts of life when it revoked its dangerous rule 59A, the rule that lawyers, unlike other citizens, may not change their names. In Indiana, once a haven for the Klan, there had been a categorical rejection of the notion that lawyers enrolled under outlandish or otherwise displeasing cognomens had to retain such names. But, for reasons never thoroughly explained, the Illinois Supreme Court felt that our lawyers had to be restrained from doing what Paul Revere and many other great Americans had done in the past (as brought out in

Louis Adamic's intriguing book, *What's Your Name?*). It was believed by some that the rule was directed principally against Jews and Poles. Others thought it a sign of nascent Fascism. The Decalogue Society of Lawyers took the lead in urging the abrogation of the rule.

This may be a minor matter in itself, but it is from the accumulation of minor restraints that the tree of liberty withers and dies.

Out of Illinois, too, came one of the truly momentous constitutional issues of our day.

In 1940 certain members of the Jewish, Roman Catholic and Protestant faiths in Champaign, Illinois, organized a council on religious education. Obtaining permission from the Board of Education, they offered religious classes, on released time, to public school pupils. These classes were conducted in the regular classrooms of the school buildings by representatives of the various faiths at no direct expense to the Board. Those who did not care to attend were permitted to leave.

Mrs. Vashti McCollum, an avowed atheist, sought to enjoin this program, claiming that it violated the constitutional principle of the separation of church and state. She was unsuccessful in the state courts and appealed successfully to the United States Supreme Court where, on March 8, 1948, the court held that the state cannot aid religion in any way—the "wall between church and state . . . must be kept high and impregnable."

In the early stages of the case, the burden was carried by the Chicago Action Council, assisted for a time by the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee. Later all groups in Jewry joined in filing briefs before the highest court. Briefs were also filed by organizations representing Baptists, Unitarians, Seventh Day Adventists, the A.C.L.U. and others.

There are other signs of the growing opposition to what some believe to be encroachments by the Church upon secu-

lar matters. "Protestants and other Americans" have banded together in the fight; but, as so aptly expressed by Rabbi Stephen Wise, Jews object to being known as "other Americans." This fight does not indicate hostility to religion. As a matter of fact, it is led by distinguished Protestant clergymen.

There is always a danger, however, that a good cause may be distorted so as to do violence to the principles of tolerance, non-discrimination and equal opportunity.



APPROPRIATELY ENOUGH, THE ANNUAL CONVENTION of the National Lawyers Guild was held in Chicago during the Washington birthday week-end. There were present as delegates lawyers from the larger cities of the country, most of them from New York, Washington, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago. As said by Elmer McClane, the lawyer farmer from Lima, Ohio, it was largely a gathering of big city and governmental lawyers. But it was representative of all races, creeds and national origins. In a sense, it was a conclave of the more vocal liberals of the nation. Side by side we saw the attorneys of both the CIO and AFL and of many of the so called international unions. One saw Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, members of A.D.A. and P.C.A., supporters and opponents of Henry A. Wallace, all who are embraced within F.D.R.'s immortal phrase: "left of center." The convention was much concerned with the sad state of civil liberties, the domestic economy, and foreign affairs. Sharp words were uttered about the hysterical persecution of political dissenters by so-called loyalty tests and Un-American Committees. The growing danger of inflation, the rise in the cost of living, the new strength of monopolies were regretted. There was a call to reverse the trend to war. On the affirmative side, the Guild presented a program in the best Rooseveltian tradi-

tions, calling for the extension of social security, a long range housing program, a fair tax program, F.E.P.C. and other implementation of the civil rights report.

Once again Robert W. Kenny, of California, was named to head the Guild. The vice-presidencies were distributed geographically, and included such well-known liberals as Bartley C. Crum, Osmond K. Fraenkel, O. John Rogge, Gov. William Hastie, Judge Ira W. Jayne, Louis McCabe, Thomas I. Emerson and, bringing up the rear, as it were, this writer.

One thing the Guild Convention demonstrated, and that is that it is not easy to be outspoken and progressive today. There is marked evidence that many of the fainthearted, once active in behalf of good causes, have fled to the storm-cellars. There they will undoubtedly be listening stealthily for the rumblings of a new Roosevelt, whose high position will embolden them once more to venture forth. One should not be too contemptuous of these summer soldiers. One should be thankful, rather, that there are some who fight courageously, irrespective of the season. The Guild still has such members in the Middlewest and elsewhere.

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AS EXPECTED, THE UNITED STATES SUPREME Court invalidated racial restrictive housing covenants as these words were being printed. Irrespective of this ruling, certain recent events in Chicago are newsworthy.

The more cheerful development involves the voluntary abandonment of restrictive covenants by a community that was once notorious for the fervor with which it proclaimed the "right" of property owners to exclude Negroes. The Oakland-Kenwood Property Owners' Association, headed by Philip A. Toomin, has announced its official support for a different kind of covenant, one based,

not upon race, but upon decent occupancy standards. Anyone who agrees to take proper care of realty will be permitted to lease or purchase it. Dr. Robert Weaver, Leonard Rieser, Joy Schultz, Thomas W. Wright and the other civic leaders responsible for this heartening innovation, deserve the applause of the entire community. Irrespective of any practical effect, the new kind of covenant is a symbol of the growth of conscience where its existence is least expected.

A less cheerful picture has again been drawn at the Fernwood veterans' housing project, where, responding at last to the adverse community pressures, the tenants have gone on record, for the first time, in opposing Negro occupancy. They have done this solely on the grounds of security. The inescapable moral to be drawn is that few people will take an enlightened stand in such matters unless the police and the public agencies make it unmistakably clear that they will vigorously combat racists and give moral and physical support to those who favor the policy and practice of non-discrimination.

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IT MUST BE ALMOST TWO YEARS AGO SINCE the Commission then called the Mayor's Committee on Race Relations held the third of its series of conferences on home front unity. Out of the conference there came a charter of human rights for Chicago and a campaign for civic unity. Speaking at the very end of the conference for a large group of organizations, I asked for periodical reports on successes and failures in connection with the objectives set forth in the charter. This fall there will be the first such report to the community in the form of another official conference of delegates from many civic organizations. At that time a systematic effort will be made to point out how far we have gone forward or backward and what can be done by those interested in

a democratic community. This much can be said now. Our Chicago experience was of inestimable value to the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Many of the findings in the famous report of that committee were credited to our Commission.

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IN RECENT WEEKS THERE HAVE BEEN A number of meetings in support of the appeal of the *Sentinel* from the judgments rendered against it and its editors, culminating in a civic banquet addressed by O. John Rogge. These meetings have been held in Austin, on the South Shore, the Northside and elsewhere. They demonstrate that many Jews, and probably the majority, realize that the unfortunate jury verdicts set precedents which may have serious implications in this grave period when emotions are easily stirred up. Bigots certainly are encouraged to excesses when they may successfully take the offensive. The question here is: which will set the pattern, the Terminiello case or the *Sentinel* case?

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EARLY IN MARCH A DETROIT RADIO STATION conducted a Round Table discussion on Communism, that old stand-by for alarms and excursions. Participating in it were three high officials: Governor Kim Sigler, Attorney General Eugene Black, and Commissioner of Police Harry S. Toy. Immediately, conflicting reports about the broadcast were received in the office of the Jewish Community Council. (Detroit, unlike our enlightened city, has a community council.) Commissioner Toy, it was claimed by some, made an anti-Semitic remark, linking Communist infiltration with Jewish refugee rabbis. Actually, it appeared, the commissioner had said that some Communist agents enter this country who are not Jewish or rabbis but pretend to be rabbis in order to avoid quota restrictions. In a statement dis-

claiming the charge of anti-Semitism, the commissioner referred to his many close friends who are Jewish citizens and said:

"This is one of the few countries in the world where all are equal under our government. Neither my private life nor my public career has ever negated this nor has it ever indicated, I am sure, anything else but the most cordial relationship between myself and the Jewish American citizens."

The commissioner should be accepted at his own valuation, for the time being, but he and others should learn that when one plays with phoney issues one is sometimes hurt. Let me not be misunderstood. I believe that we have the right and duty to fight spies and other secret agents of foreign powers, whether they be Russians or Germans, English or of other nationality; but a police commissioner has no more right or duty than any of us to create an unfriendly climate for new ideas, however distasteful. There is much evidence that Commissioner Toy has intervened unduly in purely political matters.

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BEFORE TALKING WITH SAMUEL A. GOLD-SMITH, executive director of the Jewish Charities of Chicago for the last seventeen years, I perused the 1947 Yearbook, which is a summary of the work and the budget of "The Charities." I learned that a single contribution to the Jewish Charities of Chicago will help support the work of a large number of organizations comprising the Charities family, in the fields of family welfare, medical care, child care, care of the aged, employment services, and neighborhood activities.

The year 1947 was a particularly difficult one, because of the greatly reduced purchasing power of the dollar and, at the same time the increased demands made upon the various institutions. The artificial prosperity of the war years was at an end.

The effort is often made to breathe

life into the cold statistics about the Charities; but the facts and figures have a natural eloquence when one surveys them in their proper setting. Take the work of the Jewish Family and Community Service as typical. This has been described as the very heart of the work carried on by the Charities; for it is believed by many that human welfare may best be safeguarded through the maintenance of sound family life. Applications to the number of 5,112 were received in 1947, resulting in 4,845 "cases." Of these 783 required both financial assistance and service, while the remainder 4,062—required service only. It is recognized today that not only the underprivileged or indigent need counselling service. People in all walks of life, some of them fairly well to do, come to the Jewish Family and Community Service, because there is no other place to which they can bring their problem.

One might give similar data for each of the institutions in the Charities network. Each of the institutions has its own staff, officers and board of directors, and then there are the over-all staff, officers and directors of the Charities. Every effort is made to achieve efficiency without the sacrifice of humanity. There is a constant process of self-criticism.

The Chicago Jewish Community lives in a gold-fish bowl, as it were. The curious person, by consulting the Yearbook, can learn exactly how much his neighbor contributed to the cause.

Mr. Goldsmith has helped dissipate some of the bad public relations which used to exist. He has changed methods, viewpoints, attitudes wherever necessary. The concept now is one of service in the first instance to the Jewish people and then to the community at large, irrespective almost of financial means.

The Michael Reese Hospital and Mandel Clinic are in a neighborhood that is largely Negro. That has given the Jewish community the opportunity to show that

it truly believes in a policy of non-discrimination and helpfulness to all. Negroes are freely treated in the hospital and clinic; and through the planning staff, led by Reginald Isaacs, an effort is being made to rehabilitate the neighborhood itself. In the same way, but to a lesser extent, Mt. Sinai Hospital and Clinic are open to the Negroes.

It must not be assumed that Jewish patients necessarily go to Jewish hospitals. More than half of them go to non-Jewish hospitals. Such discrimination as there is in Chicago hospitals is not so much against Jewish patients as against Jewish medical men.

I asked Mr. Goldsmith to differentiate the Jewish charities from the non-Jewish charities. "We ask ourselves," he said, "Is a Jew in need?" and we assist him. They assist, not in accordance with need, but only to the extent permitted by the budget."

When I asked Mr. Goldsmith if he was in favor of the formation of a Community Council, as urged by so many others, he had serious reservations. He said that there cannot be a true community council with all of the thousands of big and little organizations directly represented; there must be a great amount of grouping and selectivity, and the whole problem of organizational voting is complex. It is difficult, too, to bind groups to general decisions. He feels that many of the purposes of such central organizations are now being achieved through informal meetings. He emphasized that the machinery in itself is not enough. There must be common problems with common solutions. Artificial unity is meaningless.

He emphasized that the Charities are much more democratic than they were perhaps years ago when a few wealthy individuals of German descent were the chief contributors and policymakers. Now there are many contributors of diverse national origins (Polish and Russian predominating) and they all have voices in

the direction of affairs. There is not, and cannot be, absolute democracy in a field calling for special skills in administration.

In 1948, according to Mr. Goldsmith, the division of funds will be about the same as in 1947, but the amount to be raised will be about \$1,000,000 more. This may present very great difficulties in view of the almost astronomical needs for overseas relief. Mr. Goldsmith deplores the abandon with which figures are tossed about. They have ceased to have reality, he says.

For various reasons, there is more orderliness in fund raising in Chicago than in New York, Mr. Goldsmith believes. In other cities, such as Detroit, the funds for Jewish charities are raised largely through a share of the Community Chest. This somewhat simplifies things. But the fact is that each community has its own pattern, and it is unwise to generalize too much.

drop on American cities, the problem of the Jewish Charities, like the problem of all agencies, will be multiplied. The Charities build on the hope of peace.



If a war comes, during which bombs When the Rabbi's Away BEREL SATT

"The story of the Youth Aliyah (immigration of youth to Palestine) remains to be told in its fulness; so far only its outlines have been given out, and its more dramatic aspects. Much deeper, and of far wider bearings, are the details of the total reconstruction of these lives, and of the repercussions on the older generation. It is a facet of the general enterprise, reflecting with peculiar clarity the fusion of Jewishness and of social idealism which was implicit in the far-off beginnings of the movement. No other land in the world, however, liberal, friendly and understanding, could have done for the young wanderers what Palestine did to make them dignified, creative Jews."

MAURICE SAMUEL, *Harvest in the Desert*

NEW YORK NOTES

By VERO

ON THE LAST FEW WEEKS, three outstanding men were the talk of the town: namely, a Jewish refugee scientist from Germany; a Christian lawyer who hails from the West Coast; and a Jewish scholar who was born in this city. This chronicler was pleased to learn that the One World Award, established four years ago in memory of Wendell L. Willkie, went this year to Dr. Albert Einstein. At a dinner, during which a letter of Einstein was read, in which the great old man gave thanks for the honor and reiterated his lofty ideas on world peace, the chairman of the One World Award Committee explained that the Sage of Princeton had been chosen because of his hatred of militarism, dictatorship, and violence, and because he had lent "his unequalled prestige to the causes he identifies with the cause of humanity."

This is not the first time that the famous scientist has been honored in this city. Years ago, when New York's Riverside Church was built, the Reverend Dr. Fosdick and his associates decided that part of the edifice's ornamentation should consist of the figures of important men whose work has enriched the world, and in a niche that includes the world's outstanding scientists, the builders placed a sculptured image of Einstein.

The professor is not only one of the greatest scientists of this century, but he is one of the very few learned men who step out of the ivory tower of pure science to challenge the foes of humanity whenever they feel that mankind's spiritual

values are threatened. He has been called an eminent physicist ever since 1905, when he issued his first statement on the theory of relativity, but his fight against the forces of darkness has not yet been fully recognized or acknowledged. Recently, by the way, he lent his support to the Third Movement, paying homage to Wallace's efforts to help prevent another world conflagration.

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BARTLEY C. CRUM, the West coast lawyer and author of the best-seller, *Behind the Silken Curtain*, has recently been heard by thousands of Chicagoans when he addressed the Biennial Convention of the United Synagogues of America, held in the Windy City. In New York progressive citizens of all faiths and origins recently cheered him when he announced that he had bought the daily newspaper, *PM*, from Chicago's royal merchant, Marshall Field. For years Mr. Field had poured enormous sums of money into the management of *PM* which, without his sacrifices, would not have been able to compete successfully with a half dozen powerful newspapers carrying advertisements from all the big firms. Had not Mr. Crum appeared on the scene, Mr. Field, tired of his work as a New York publisher, might have let *PM* die. Fortunately Mr. Crum came, as a savior, in the eleventh hour, a liberal Republican who campaigned for the late Willkie, fought for the Jews' rights in Palestine, and, as a jurist, frequently defended our

civil rights against sinister attacks on the part of reactionaries.

We New Yorkers are glad that *PM*, that mouthpiece of genuine liberalism, will not disappear from the newsstands. We remember how that crusading journalist, Ingersoll, had forged it into a weapon of attack, assailing the foes of the Republic, inside and outside the USA; we recalled the late LaGuardia's frank editorial comments on the social and political scene, and we rejoiced in the thought that such honest and well-informed journalists as Albert Deutsch, I. F. Stone, Saul K. Padover, Max Lerner and others would be able to continue their campaigns for better health and homes, for the rights of minorities, for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, for world-wide peace.

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IN SEPTEMBER, Brandeis University will be opened at Waltham near Boston, Massachusetts, taking over the campus facilities of the defunct Middlesex College. Though predominantly Jewish, B. U. will open its gates to teachers and students of all creeds, colors, and races. Otherwise, I believe, such a truly liberal scholar as Dr. Abraham Leon Sachar, would not have accepted its presidency. Dr. Sachar who, for years, has been serving as national director of the Hillel Foundations, is a native of New York. He is the author of such books as *A History of the Jews*, and *Sufferance is the Badge*, lucidly written volumes showing the connection between the persecution imposed on the Jews and the general regression exemplified by the persecutors. Dr. Sachar wisely pointed out how the perpetrators of modern anti-Semitism used the doctrine as the instrument with which they weakened the democratic governments of Europe, and that the badge of sufferance worn by the Jews, and the badge of perpetual struggle against sub-humanity worn by the entire human race, are identical.

In this city, Dr. Sachar is known because of his efforts to purchase the late F.D.R.'s New York city home as an Interfaith Center for the students of Hunter College; it has been named for the President's mother, Sarah Delano Roosevelt.

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SINCE WE ARE TALKING of what Emerson would have called "Representative Men," we might add a fourth to this list. If you have attended the United Nations Committee sessions on Genocide, at Lake Success, you may have heard him raise his voice in behalf of all small racial and religious groups which, some day, might be threatened by extermination due to the malice of another Hitler. He is Dr. Raphael Lemkin, the originator of the concept of genocide as a crime under international law. Formerly Public Prosecutor of the city of Warsaw, he fought the Nazis in the battle for Poland's capital, was wounded, and finally escaped to the USA via Sweden. In a huge volume, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, published here in 1944, he coined the term "genocide." For the past four years he has been working overtime until he succeeded in having genocide included on the agenda of the United Nations. Never forgetting the fact that millions of innocent civilians were murdered in the last war, Dr. Lemkin worked indefatigably for his lofty goal—the outlawing of the wilful extermination of entire populations—and he finally scored a great personal triumph when the Social and Economic Council of the UN presented the Convention on Genocide which he had helped draw up to the full body for adoption.

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A VICTORY in more or less the same realm—the field of human relations—was recently scored by the American Jewish Congress. For when the Federal Communications Commission issued a precedent-making decision denying the New

York *Daily News* a license to establish a frequency modulation radio station in New York city, the decision had profound implications for the fight against dissemination of racist and anti-Semitic propaganda in this country. The *Daily News*, a tabloid paper, had been under fire for years by Negro, Jewish, and other groups, charging it with carrying harmful racist propaganda in its news and editorial columns and with using "race tags" in crime and sex stories.

During public hearings in New York and Washington, and in a brief submitted to the FCC, the American Jewish Congress produced a series of editorials and columns from the *News*, indicating anti-Semitic and anti-Negro bias. Hence, the AJC asserted, the FCC should exercise its discretion against the *News*. The battle dragged on for many months, to be won in the spring of 1948 by the AJC when, in a lengthy and detailed memorandum, the FCC declared that racial and religious bias was a factor into which the Commission must inquire in granting radio licenses. It also held, for the first time, that newspapers enjoy no special privileges preventing the Commission from subjecting them to the same kind of scrutiny it gives to all other applicants. Denying the *Daily News* a license, the FCC declared that it would, in the future, under similar circumstances, likewise consider "past acts of unfairness such as . . . the repeated making of irresponsible charges against any group or viewpoint without regard for the truth of such charges and without bothering to determine in advance of their publication whether they can be corroborated or proven."

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IN THE RECENT SURVEY on enforced segregation on racial and religious lines, conducted by the Commission on Community Interrelations of the AJC, it is found that not only the minorities but the *entire* nation is harmed by the malignant effects

of segregation. More than 500 leading sociologists, psychologists, and anthropologists were asked to give their opinion on the consequences of segregation, and nearly 83 per cent of them maintain that not only the minorities, but also the groups doing the segregating are bound to suffer grave psychological damage.

In making public this as well as other heartening results of the poll, Dr. Stuart E. Cook, director of the CCI, stressed its significance in view of the recent condemnation of segregation by both the President's Commission on Higher Education and the President's Committee on Civil Rights:

"I hope that this overwhelming evidence from hundreds of the country's leading experts will give important stimulus to the efforts to smash the artificial barriers by which Americans continue to be kept apart from each other in our schools, our cities, our housing projects and other areas of our social life."

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THOUGH PREOCCUPIED with their internal struggle for upholding civil liberties, New York's good people did not permit it to obliterate their profound sympathy with the Hebrews in Palestine, shedding their blood in order to gain their independent state. At a recent, specially-called conference, several prominent Zionist leaders spoke before more than 1,000 key workers of the Metropolitan New York area. One of the speakers, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, president of the Zionist Organization of America and member of the Jewish Agency Executive, compared the Yishuv's struggle to the American colonists' fight for freedom from Tory oppression:

The Jews of Palestine are growing stronger daily. They are perfecting their organization, building up their army, tightening their belts and adjusting their economy to the needs of their struggle for independence. Theirs is the spirit of 1776. Having witnessed 6 million of their kith and kin slaughtered in Europe, they are determined, in Palestine, to fight like free

men on their feet, rather than live on their knees. They are hoping that the freedom-loving people of America will understand and sympathize with them in their struggle.

A highlight of the meeting was the presentation of special awards to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Neumann, and Dr. Israel Goldstein on behalf of the DP's of Europe. Another highlight was the reading of a valiant pledge addressed to the Yishuv by the representatives of 199 districts of the ZOA. The document pledged the enrollment of 100,000 members into the ZOA by the time the Jewish State would be proclaimed.

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WHILE THE FIGHTING is going on in Palestine, the colonists continue to till their fields. In the USA, some 100,000 Jewish farmers are fighting on the home front, helping produce the food for the nation as well as for the needy ones in Europe and Asia. Much credit for the success of America's Jewish farmers must go to the Jewish Agricultural Society which, recently, could celebrate two important anniversaries: the fortieth anniversary of Dr. Gabriel Davidson's association with the JAS, and his thirtieth year as its Executive Head. According to the Society's most recent Report, the Jewish farm scene is bright, and interest in farming is brisk among Jews. Last year almost a thousand individuals came to the Society to be advised as to the wisdom of becoming farmers. The caution with which the mission of farm settlement is handled by the Society's officers can be judged by the fact that of these applicants only 106 were settled, together with their families, on newly acquired farms.

Realizing the GI's difficulties of readjusting himself to post-war America, the Society made efforts to help veterans who, instead of increasing the proletariat of the big cities, prefer to make a go as farmers. So far the Society has dealt with nearly 600 veterans, some of whom were

non-Jews sent by the Veterans Administration and other veterans' bodies. But caution prevailed there, too. Turning down those individuals not likely to become efficient farmers, the Society has settled only 72 veterans on farms. As far as the Society's loans to GI's are concerned, they have long gone beyond the \$100,000 mark!

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A YEAR AGO I reported in this column the opening of a Jewish Museum in New York. It was a remarkable accomplishment even then, when only the first and second floors of the building—the late Felix M. Warburg's Fifth Avenue residence—were ready for inspection. But the Museum's curator, Dr. Stephen S. Kayser, did not rest on his laurels, and, coinciding with the Museum's first "birthday," other parts of the house were opened to the public.

The synagogue architecture room contains, among other precious items, a unique baroque Torah Ark, made in Southern Germany in 1720. Painted in vigorous colors, it is topped with two sweet "lions" that wouldn't scare a child away. A section of the room is devoted to models, plans, and drawings of synagogues of today and tomorrow. A Sabbath room shows how the pious Jew spent the day of rest and peace in an atmosphere of sublime beauty. You will be deeply impressed by the splendid Sabbath table spread with a beautifully embroidered old linen cloth, a rich white satin cover for the twisted Sabbath bread, a wine cup, and a pair of lighted candle sticks. If you are a music lover, you may linger in the room dedicated to the work of one of our most outstanding contemporary composers, Ernest Bloch. And you are bound to be thrilled by the festivals room, recalling the glories of the holy days through handsome ritual objects in gold and silver.

In the "Junior Gallery" on the fourth

floor you can observe the artistic outpourings of Jewish children between 6 and 14: drawings, models, block buildings. The currently shown "chefs-d'oeuvre" resulted from an intensive study of Palestine in the class rooms during the last few months. Hence the topics are refugees illegally reaching the Holy Land; halutzim working in orange groves; the Haganah guarding a settlement. One large "canvas," the work of two youthful artists, was inspired by a line drawn from the Bible: "And they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree."

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THOUGH BORN IN Vilna, Lithuania, Lasar Segall is considered Brazil's national painter. After having lived and studied in various countries, he made his first trip to Brazil shortly before World War I. In 1926 he returned to Brazil and adopted that country as his "second fatherland."

Recently he visited the United States to participate in the opening of an exhibition of his canvasses at the Associated American Artists Gallery that was sponsored by the Brazilian Government in cooperation with the American State Department as part of a program designed to further inter-American cultural and artistic relations.

Segall uses sensuous powerful colors. Many of his *subjects* are, of course, Brazilian, but there are also unforgettable canvasses that can be called Jewish, among them *Pogrom* and *The Emigrants' Ship*. Historians of art may recall that Segall's first successful painting, produced thirty years ago, was called *Kaddish*. The artist's wife, incidentally, has translated Goethe's *Faust* into Portuguese.

At the Bignou Gallery Jacques Zucker, just returned from a lengthy visit to his beloved France, where this Polish-born artist spent many years of study, showed sixteen new canvasses, most of which he had made in glorious Paris. *Pont Neuf*—

Pont St. Michel—Boulevard du Montparnasse—what a strong *joie de vivre* emanates from the tender and gentle post-impressionist pictures of this artist who has frequently been compared to Renoir on account of the beauty and vigor of his coloring. The critic, Waldemar George, stated the truth when, some time ago, he wrote about Zucker:

"His is the positive, optimistic, life-embracing art that serves to challenge the fear and desperation expressed by the schematic arts of our time. His is the art of confidence, of love, and of youth."

A sculptor of world-wide reputation is Jacques Lipchitz who, at the Buchholtz Gallery, exhibited early as well as most recent bronzes and stone carvings; included were pieces done around 1920 (like the portrait of Gertrude Stein) and such recent items as the one called *Exodus 1947* and a study for the Madonna of the Church at Assy (Haute Savoie), France. Visitors used to the more conventional types of sculpture were baffled by his revolutionary work. Let's hope that some of these good folks will take the trouble to learn to grasp the significance of Lipchitz' unusual style. He deserves full credit for having worked out a unique technique of simplifying forms, since he regards it the sculptor's task to translate the laws of human anatomy into organic sculptural terms rather than into their naturalistic equivalent.

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THE HABIMAH, Palestine's famous theatrical troupe, has come to New York, and is scheduled to perform in other cities, too. So far it has shown here two plays: the famous *Dybbuk* by An-Ski, and *David's Crown*, by the old Spanish dramatist, Calderon de la Barca. Having already seen a *Dybbuk* performance during a European tour of the Habimah, quite a few years ago, I decided to see the second play only. Frankly, I was a bit disappointed. The mixture of styles—

King David as played by the superb Aaron Meskin is a model of realism, whereas Hanna Rovina, playing David's unhappy daughter, Tamar, excels in grotesquely expressionist exaggerations—is confusing and aesthetically unsatisfactory; the acting of some of the lesser stars is even hammy, in spots. Has Habimah buried its great art traditions under superficial breast-beatings and shoutings? To judge by comments made by colleagues who had seen the New York performance of *The Dybbuk*, this is fortunately not the case. Apparently, *David's Crown* was just an unhappy choice.

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SINCE THE END of the war two or three firms devoted to the publication of books of Jewish interest have been established here. All efforts in this direction should be welcomed enthusiastically, for it is not enough to be called "The People of the Book"—we must prove ourselves worthy of that proud name. Ambitious and praiseworthy are the aims of Sharon Books, a firm which desires to "interpret Palestine

through translations of the best creative fiction published here, and through factual, authoritative studies, thereby giving the American reader a fuller and more authentic picture of Jewish life." So far the firm has published six volumes in English, two in Yiddish; in the first category are two scholarly volumes on the Labor Movement in Palestine, by Gerhart Muenzner and Samuel Kurland, respectively and a deeply stirring autobiography, *Escape from the Pit*, written by Renya Kulkielka, a young Polish Jewess who miraculously survived ghettos, concentration camps, and prisons, finally to land in the Land of Promise where she is now working in an agricultural colony; the Yiddish books issued by the firm are a volume of Essays and Speeches by the Labor Zionist, Katzenelson, and a Yiddish translation of *Jews in Palestine*, that exhaustive study by the late Abraham Revutsky. Among the guiding spirits of Sharon Books are such outstanding personalities as Marie Syrkin, Hayim Greenberg, and Hayim Finemann: they will see to it that the firm keeps its high intellectual and aesthetic level.

"How often do we hear the South say that slaves are not the same as white men—that they are not human beings . . . Even scientific men have come down from the glorious heights of science low enough to be bought by Southern gold, and endeavor to prove that the colored man is a different being from the white man, and therefore it is right to hold him as a slave . . . I will say of the slave, as I often say when claiming the rights of woman—humanity recognizes no color, mind recognizes no color; pleasure or pain, happiness or misery, life or death, recognizes no color . . ."

ERNESTINE L. ROSE, in 1852, quoted from
Jews in American History, by Phillipp S. Foner

WASHINGTON NOTES

By MURRAY FRANK

WE DEVOTE first place in this edition of our Notes to the memory of the four chaplains whose act of self-sacrificing heroism is probably the greatest single story to emerge from World War II. Their heroic deed which has few parallels in human history has just been commemorated by the United States Government through the issuance of a special three-cent postage stamp on May 28.

Readers will doubtless recall the tragic story, which by now has become almost legendary, when the American troopship *Dorchester* was torpedoed by a Nazi submarine in the North Atlantic in February, 1943. When there were not enough lifebelts for all soldiers, the four chaplains aboard gave up their belts so that four soldiers might live. When last seen, they had joined hands in prayer, standing knee-deep in water on the deck as the ship was rapidly sinking.

This story, related subsequently by survivors, was subjected to extensive investigation and corroboration by the War Department and its authority was definitely established. The four chaplains were: Protestant—Rev. George L. Fox, Cambridge, Vt., and Rev. Clark V. Poling, Schenectady, N. Y.; Catholic—Rev. John P. Washington, Arlington, N. J.; Jewish—Rabbi Alexander D. Goode, Washington, D. C. Their act of sacrifice has been characterized as "beyond the power of words to describe."

The stamp in their honor depicts the four chaplains standing in prayer aboard the sinking ship, each uttering the prayers of his faith. Across the top is the inscrip-

tion "These Immortal Chaplains . . . Interfaith in Action." In 1944, all four were posthumously awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, presented to their close relatives. On the day the stamps were issued, a ceremony was held at the White House where President Truman and relatives of the chaplains were given sheets of the commemorative stamps.

The heroic story of the four chaplains will unquestionably serve as a guide to mankind for many generations to come and will surely occupy a golden page in American history and a place in the hearts of the American people.

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DURING THE CURRENT 1948 session of the Supreme Court our highest judicial body has handed down a number of important decisions dealing with the rights of minorities and racial discrimination. Most of these have already been treated at great length in the daily press. Now that the Supreme Court is about to recess until the fall, we merely wish to make a brief recapitulation of some of the more important decisions in defense of minorities:

1. The California Alien Land Law aimed against Japanese-Americans. The Court held that the law was unconstitutional because it established a statutory presumption that land purchased by an alien father in the name of his son, who is a U. S. citizen, was made with the intention of evading the law and consequently such citizens do not receive equal protection under the law.

2. The Oklahoma Law School incident affecting Negroes. In two decisions by the Court the principle was established that a state must provide a law school education to qualified Negro applicants "as soon as it does for applicants of any other group," even where no separate Negro school exists.

3. In the Bob-Lo Excursion case in Michigan the Court upheld the Michigan Civil Rights Law which bans discrimination against minority groups in public places of accommodation.

4. In the McCollum Released Time case the Court ruled unconstitutional the practice of released time for religious instruction which was conducted in public school buildings.

5. Early in May the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the restrictive covenants practiced widely in so-called "zoned" areas in many of our urban centers against Negroes, Jews, Catholics, and minority groups of Mexican, Chinese, Japanese and other origin. The Court declared that State and Federal courts cannot enforce restrictive covenants.

These are among the more important decisions affecting minorities. In themselves, each of these decisions does not bring the desired millenium, but all of them combined plus other important decisions of similar nature indicate that we are on the right road to the realization of the constitutional guarantee of equality for all citizens of this country regardless of race, color or creed.

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LIBERAL-MINDED Sen. Dennis Chavez, New Mexico Democrat and himself of Mexican-American ancestry, recently discussed the problem of minorities in the United States and its effect on Catholics. Some of the thoughts he expressed on that occasion are worth repeating here because the points he raised should be of interest to all minority groups. Here are some noteworthy excerpts from his address:

"The problem of racial minorities is of transcendental importance because on its solution depends the peace of the world. . . . The political crises in the world today have their origin in minority problems. The internecine warfare in India has its roots in racial, religious and economic differences among Moslem and Sikh, Brahmin and Untouchable. The Balkans are a tinder box because of mutual hatred of Slav and Italian, Serb and Croat, and of Greek and Bulgarian. . . . In Palestine, Arab and Jew are at each other's throats killing and maiming because of racial, religious and possibly economic antagonism. . . . If we in the United States sincerely desire peace, it behooves us to concentrate our efforts to the amelioration of the plight of minorities in our own country and to urge our Government to do likewise in its foreign policy.

"The problem of minorities is the offspring of the materialistic philosophy of our so-called modern age. . . . When Americans become so obsessed with the materialistic side of life that they overlook, and often abuse, the rights of fellow Americans because of religious, racial or color differences they are behaving like Nazis. There is no essential difference in Hitler's mass sterilization and human soap factories, Stalin's slave labor and concentration camps, and our chain gangs, starvation wages, lynchings, and racial discrimination . . .

"What are we really doing when we practice discrimination but driving God from our hearts? This great liberty-loving country of ours often denies the rights of Orientals, Negroes, Jews, and Mexicans. Are we not forgetting God when we do so? . . . We must realize the grave danger to all minorities if any minority is abused. If intolerance for the Negro is not controlled, eventually the same intolerance and bigotry will be directed against religious minorities. . . . We should start right now and remove from our own hearts any vestige of ill will or intolerance

toward our fellow Americans because of religion, race or color."

The thoughts voiced by Sen. Chavez need no comment or further explanation. Those who fail to take heed of his warning are inviting disaster.

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WHEN THIS COUNTRY was plunged into war at the end of 1941, more than 100,000 Japanese-Americans were evacuated from our West Coast and Hawaii to relocation centers in other parts of the country. Because it was all done with utmost speed, the evacuees were unable to make arrangements for the protection of their possessions and as a result many suffered serious property losses. Interestingly enough, not a single attempt at espionage or sabotage was ever officially attributed to them. But the hysteria that followed in the wake of the attack on Pearl Harbor took its toll from these otherwise loyal people, whose sons so excelled in bravery on the field of battle in defense of their adopted land.

The Japanese-Americans have never sought redress for the humiliation to which they were subjected or for the infringement of their constitutional rights as American citizens. Our government has recognized, as a matter of elementary justice, that they are entitled to some compensation for the losses they have suffered. In 1946, a bill was introduced in Congress to establish a claims commission to determine the compensation due them. The bill was subsequently approved in the Senate unanimously, but the House had recessed before the bill came up for action.

Now, with Congress on the verge of a recess, there is danger of repetition. This time the House has approved the bill, but the Senate has not yet been able to get around to it. Undersecretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman personally appealed late in May to a Senate committee to speed up legislation on the matter. "These persons, whose only crime was

the unavoidable accident of birth and ancestry," said Chapman, "were compelled to forsake their homes and abandon their businesses without being given a prior opportunity to prove their loyalty to the United States."

It would, indeed, be tragic if through carelessness or the pressure of other business Congress would let the matter lapse again. It would only serve to perpetuate a wrong committed against a minority whose loyalty today is above all suspicion.

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PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S civil rights program is bogging down more each day with little chance of any part of it being adopted by the present Congress. Only an early decision of the Republican leadership to force the issue of a filibuster in the Senate, either on the anti-lynching bill or the anti-poll tax bill, could revive any of these measures. The prospects for action on the civil rights proposals are not too bright, with Congress scheduled to adjourn by June 19 and the congressional calendar still crowded with a mass of "must" legislation.

At this late date, some slight hope is held out for the anti-lynching bill as the only measure which conceivably has a chance for adoption. All others including anti-poll tax, anti-segregation, fair employment practice and similar legislation appear definitely doomed in this session, which means that not until 1949 can a new effort be made towards realization of the civil rights program.

The way the matter shapes up, the Republicans will be able to claim that only by the election of a Republican President and Congress in November will civil rights legislation be possible, while the Democrats will rejoice that they will not have to be embarrassed by further commitments on civil rights and thus will be able to hold the "solid South" in the Democratic column in the coming presidential election.

THE DAUGHTERS of the American Revolution, known for many years for its anti-alien views, has again reiterated its opposition to liberalization of immigration to the United States or the admission of a limited number of displaced persons. Such large and representative organizations as the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor have during the past year revised their stand and are now supporting legislation to admit a substantial number of DP's, but not the DAR which clings to its chauvinistic outlook on the problem.

The refusal of the DAR, at its recent convention in Washington, to change its stand has resulted in sharp criticism against the organization. One of the most outspoken critics this time was Catholic Archbishop Patrick O'Boyle of the Washington Archdiocese, who said that the stand taken by the DAR is contrary to the sacred traditions of the United States toward the needy and the oppressed.

Archbishop O'Boyle took issue with a charge made by the DAR that the pending legislation for the admittance of several hundred thousand DP's "results from the determined efforts of foreign blocs to break down our immigration laws." The Archbishop denied the existence of foreign blocs in the U. S. and pointed to the casualty lists of World War II which are "filled with the names of immigrants which very well could have been characterized as 'foreign blocs.' These were the sons of immigrants," he said, "who came to this country and who assisted us in no small measure in gaining our position of preeminence in world affairs."

Meanwhile, Congress is about to approve a bill to admit 200,000 DP's over a period of two years, at the rate of 100,000 per year. The major hurdle was cleared away in the Senate during the closing days of May when an amendment to double the original limit of 100,000 was approved by a vote of 40 to 33. As these lines are written, some amendments deal-

ing with the liberalization of several restrictive clauses in the bill remain to be decided and final passage is practically assured before the adjournment of Congress. In so doing, Congress will act in conformity with one of the great traditions of American life, namely, the offer of asylum to the homeless and the persecuted.

* * *

A VERY INTERESTING study of anti-Semitism in the United States in 1947 was released in the spring by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. According to this study, there was a "very real" increase in unorganized anti-Semitism during the year. By "unorganized," the survey declares, is meant acts of anti-Semitism which are not directed by professional hate-mongers, such as individual acts against Jews, and also economic, social and educational discrimination directed against Jews.

Organized anti-Semitism, on the contrary, has declined considerably and there appears to be less organized anti-Semitic activity since 1933 when the Nazis came to the helm in Germany. The survey concludes, nevertheless, that while most Americans are able to recognize and reject the professional anti-Semite, many people show a disturbing lack of insight into the activities of bigots who spread hatred of the Jews under the cloak of respectability. Some of the major findings which the survey found disturbing were as follows:

1. A slight increase in employment discrimination during the year.
2. With the continuing increase in the housing shortage, a greater number of complaints of discrimination were reported in the larger cities.
3. A considerably greater number of applicants to colleges and universities have been refused admittance on the grounds of race, religion or national origin.
4. A marked increase is reported at hotel resorts on the basis of race or religion.

5. Approximately 75 publications, which may be characterized as anti-Semitic, appear regularly in the United States.

6. A large section of the foreign language press in the country is showing an increasing amount of anti-Semitic sentiment in its news reports and editorials, particularly the German, Ukrainian and Slovak newspapers.

Among the more favorable trends listed by the survey, we find that

1. In 1947, there was a marked decrease in individual assaults on Jewish persons and desecration of synagogues and Jewish-owned property.

2. The number of organized anti-Jewish organizations which have considerable influence, resources and membership is decreasing and is now considerably less than in the late 1930's when many such organizations were active.

3. Anti-Jewish groups were not successful in gaining followers among American war veterans of World War II.

4. Candidates for political office who sought election on an anti-Jewish platform were extremely few in number.

The survey also gives an analysis of anti-Semitic trends in various regions, states and cities where specifically local problems are important factors. Such analysis and evaluation of the problem on a national and local basis should be of invaluable service to the American community as a whole in checking on the activities of its anti-democratic forces.

* * *

IN CONCLUSION, a word about the Palestine situation. In view of the rapidly changing events connected with this aggravated problem, one hesitates to discuss details or even attempt to describe the Washington angle of this problem. We shall merely limit these brief observations to the trend of thinking in the matter as it was in the early days of June.

The mood in Washington on the Palestine problem was one of anger and bitterness directed against Britain. Washington

had finally become aware of Britain's obstructionist tactics and her aim in the Middle East. Coupled with this feeling of anger and bitterness was also deep resentment and open criticism of British aid to the Arabs as against the Jews and the infant Jewish state Israel. In recent days, a strong movement developed in congressional circles to investigate the extent of British aid to the Arabs, which may possibly result in a reduction of the British allotment of funds under the European Recovery Program or temporary elimination of the allotment until peace is established in the Holy Land.

The movement to withhold financial support to Britain first arose in the Senate, where it received strong support; then it was taken up in the House of Representatives, where several bills and resolutions have been introduced urging that all financial aid to England be stopped. At last reports, administration circles are not discouraging this movement in Congress. Feeling ran particularly high in Washington after the defeat of the U. S. proposal in the United Nations Security Council to declare the Arab States as aggressors, which would have meant using diplomatic and economic sanctions against them. The blame for this defeat is placed squarely on Britain. At the moment, there is a great deal of speculation in Washington of a possible diplomatic rift between the U. S. and Britain over Palestine.

Be that as it may, it is quite clear by now that the fate of Palestine and of the newly born Jewish state will be determined on the field of battle. Little David is once again faced with the Arab Goliath, who is fully equipped, supported and led by his British masters. Are we to witness a modern counterpart of the struggle and victory of a peace-loving David over a blood-thirsty Goliath, or are we about to witness the one great and serious effort in the last two thousand years to revive the Jewish state being drowned in a sea of blood and fire?



Refugees Portrait

MITCHELL SIPORIN

West Coast Letter

By CAREY McWILLIAMS

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIANS are watching with intense interest the campaign of the American Jewish Congress to secure a revocation of the license of Radio Station KMPC in Los Angeles. On March 11th the Congress filed a petition with the FCC, asking that the license of KMPC be revoked and the commission has announced that it will make a searching investigation of the charges. Station KMPC is owned by G. A. Richards, who also owns WJR—"The Good Will Station"—in Detroit and Station WGAR in Cleveland. Each of the three stations operates on 50,000 watts, the highest power permissible, and each has a clear channel: no other station in the country may infringe the outlet's monopoly of its position on the dial. While the petition of the American Jewish Congress is limited to Station KMPC, it is not unlikely that other interested groups may take advantage of the pending investigation to raise similar issues with respect to the Detroit and Cleveland stations (see the comments of Saul Carson, in *The New Republic*, March 20, 1948, p. 29).

The petition of the Congress is based upon the affidavits of three former KMPC staff men who resigned a few weeks ago. These affidavits were reprinted in a recent issue of *Billboard*. In one of them, Maurice Starrels, news writer and editor,

charges that Richards often gave him curious telephonic instructions. For example, "following the murder of gangster Bugsy Siegel, I was to emphasize in a newscast that Siegel was Jewish. . . . The funeral story was ordered coupled with items concerning Russia and Communism." George L. Lewin, former newsroom manager, states in his affidavit: "In General, Mr. Richards told me many times to seek news items derogatory to the New Deal, as he always referred to the Truman administration. He told me to plug always for General MacArthur and Tom Dewey and to keep hammering at the Jews, who are, he said, all Communists. Mr. Richards told me always to follow any story about Communists with a story, derogatory, about any member of the Roosevelt family . . ." Clete Roberts, former director of news and special events, states that he received a memo from Richards stating "the tide is turning, Clete, let's keep it going." On still another occasion, Richards is said to have admonished Roberts to this effect: "General MacArthur is a great man who believes in Christianity and our way of life . . . who if called upon to be our president would become one of the greatest leaders and crusaders of all times. . . . Get this over, again and again and again." A year or more ago, individuals in the radio in-

dustry came to me with a story to the effect that Richards had been most active in the radio division of the Republican Party in 1944 and 1946 and that he had entertained Gerald L. K. Smith. I was unable at the time to verify the latter statement but my informants said that they could vouch for its truth.

Several years ago, Richards was given a birthday party at the Detroit Athletic Club at which, according to William Allan, Father Charles Coughlin of Royal Oak was the principal speaker. Just recently another birthday party was given in honor of Richards,—in the Golden Tower of the General Motors' Fisher Building in Detroit. Among those present, on this occasion, were: C. E. Wilson, of General Motors; Ernest Breech, vice-president of the Ford Motor Company; John Hannah, president of Michigan State College; Eddie Rickenbacker; Mayor Van Antwerp of Detroit; and Governor Kim Sigler.

Any one who has had occasion to listen to KMPC news broadcasts in Los Angeles can testify to the generally reactionary tone and biased tenor of those news casts. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the FCC will conduct a most exhaustive investigation into the charges filed by the American Jewish Congress and that it will inquire into Richards' background in Detroit and his relations with Coughlin. The petition of the Congress, for example, contains the categorical statement that "Richards ordered his staff members to stress news unfavorable to Jewish interests and personalities;" that employees of the station were ordered not to mention the late President Roosevelt or Henry Wallace unless in some unfavorable connection and were told to "tear down the Roosevelt family;" that these same employees were also ordered to give the same treatment to David Lilienthal, Howard Hughes, and Henry Kaiser; and, finally, were told to cease publicizing the situation in Palestine and to build-up General MacArthur. Many

civic organizations in Los Angeles have sent communications to the FCC urging that body to conduct a most complete, detailed, and thorough-going investigation.

* * * *

STATE SENATOR Jack Tenney's Committee on Un-American Activities continues to ride rough-shod over the right of free speech in Los Angeles. Recently Langston Hughes, the distinguished Negro poet, was scheduled to speak at Occidental College under the auspices of the Council for Civic Unity. Senator Tenney immediately protested to the college officials, giving the usual reasons for his protest; and the college, as was to have been expected, ignominiously knuckled under to this pressure and canceled the meeting. Robinson Jeffers, perhaps the most distinguished graduate of Occidental College, joined with many other citizens of California, in protesting this latest and most flagrant violation of free speech. A few days later, Arizona State Teachers College at Tempe, Arizona, taking notice of the senseless and indecent episode in Los Angeles, also canceled a scheduled appearance by Mr. Hughes. It would be difficult, of course, to find a finer product of American citizenship than Langston Hughes, one of the most generous, warm-natured, kindest of human beings.

The Hughes incident, however, is merely one of several recent forays by Senator Tenney. The Senator was greatly annoyed when Judge Leon Yankwich, of the United States District Court, appeared before the committee for the purpose of correcting some derogatory comments about him which had appeared in the record. Vastly upset by this manifestation of independence, Senator Tenney proceeded to launch a most malicious attack against Judge Yankwich which is likely to involve a further inquiry by the Thomas-Rankin Committee. The timing of this attack, moreover, can hardly be regarded as a coincidence, for it so happens that at the precise moment when the at-

tack was launched, Judge Yankwich was about to pass on certain motions which were before him in a proceeding brought by one of the ten Hollywood writers against the motion picture industry. This unprincipled attack upon the character and integrity of one of the best-known, most widely respected, and erudite judges on the federal bench in the west, has provoked widespread resentment in Southern California.

Still more recently, Sam Lindauer, a member of the Civil Service Commission of Los Angeles, in a speech to a local civic group, made so bold as to suggest that the Tenney Committee was an unmitigated public nuisance. Lindauer, of course, was promptly subjected to a "smear" from the Tenney Committee. When Mrs. Helen Melinkoff, distinguished civic leader, President of the Los Angeles League of Women Voters, appeared before the City Council to speak in defense of Mr. Lindauer, a hundred or more chronic anti-Semites, gathered in the council hall, were heard to say "Jew Communist" as she stepped up to the microphone to speak.

There is a moral to this sad tale. Judge Yankwich, Sam Lindauer, and Mrs. Melinkoff are highly respected, long-resident, civic leaders in Los Angeles, of ultra-respectability and social prestige. Hence what started out some years ago as an investigation of "communism" has now, apparently, turned into quite a different type of investigation. Individuals who maintained a stony silence when the Tenney Committee was smearing "reds" and "radicals" and trade unionists are now, of course, most indignant when the same committee using the same techniques, has begun to smear judges, civic leaders, and prominent club women. But where was this righteous indignation when the Tenney Committee first launched its campaign of vituperation and slander and abuse? The silence, then, was almost audible. Today it is a pleasure to welcome

recruits in the fight against the Tenney Committee; but their indignation is somewhat tardy—it is, in fact, about four years too late.

On a recent trip to Tucson, where I spoke under the auspices of the local inter-racial committee, I picked up some items of information that may be of interest to Chicagoans who are contemplating a winter vacation in Arizona. I was shown, for example, a list of some sixty-five "guest ranches" and resorts in the immediate vicinity of Tucson all but three of which adhere to a policy of not accepting Jews as guests. In the local newspapers, one can find discriminatory want-ads in the rental columns in almost any edition of the morning or evening newspaper. I was told, also, that, in all Arizona, there are only two Jewish dentists. Year after year, Jewish graduates of the best dental schools in the country take the state board examination in Arizona. Invariably these graduates and licensed dentists from other states (Arizona does not recognize reciprocity) pass the written examinations but, as invariably, they fail to pass the oral examination. Some years ago, the Arizona state board "flunked" a man who had been a full professor of dentistry at the University of Illinois for twenty years (he just happened, of course, to be of Jewish descent!) It was only after Dr. Charles Tweed, a Tucson dentist of national reputation, took up the cudgels of this individual that the other board "reconsidered" the matter and finally gave the ex-professor his license. The other Jewish dentist is a man who, during the war years, had charge of army dental work in Arizona. In the annual yearbook, however, the names of these two individuals have been omitted. Here is what might properly be called the "classic pattern" of anti-Semitism, classic because it is not complicated by extraneous considerations, classic because it demonstrates that naked economic self-interest is the dynamic

which alone gives meaning to the anti-Semitic myth. This illustration shows, most clearly, that anti-Semitism is, indeed, a mask for privilege.

* * * *

INCIDENTALLY if any one doubts the existence in this country of an underlying, virulent anti-Semitism, I wish he would consult me. I have just begun to receive a batch of letters from confirmed anti-Semites about *A Mask for Privilege*. Any of these letters could make the subject-matter for an interesting psychiatric study and all of them should be studied by some analyst if only for the purpose of decoding the fancy symbolism and tracing the fine frenzy of neuroticism that runs through them so unmistakably. As indicative of the nature of these communications, suffice it to say that fifty per cent are anonymous letters; and that nearly every one was provoked merely by reading a review of my book, not the book itself. It is some measure of the hatred which lives and thrives in these warped personalities that they should take the trouble to rush to a typewriter and knock out a long, abusive, obscene letter to an author after merely reading a review of a book which he had written about anti-Semitism. After reading the first batch of these letters, I should say that the Anti-Defamation League has a real job cut out for it.

* * * *

IN THE ROSTER of Jewish organizations in Los Angeles, the Southland Jewish Organization occupies a unique place. It came into being in April, 1943, when eight or ten friends got together and decided to form still another Jewish organization. Today the SJO has a membership of about 1,200, organized in twelve chapters, seven of which are in Los Angeles proper and five of which are located in the various suburbs. The activities of the SJO revolve around three standing committees

or departments: the legislative department, the educational department, and the department devoted to inter-cultural affairs. Recently a special committee has been created on Palestine. Virtually all of the work of the organization is conducted by enthusiastic volunteers, although a paid secretary is now in charge of the office of the organization at 317 S. Vermont Avenue in Los Angeles.

The educational department of the SJO aims at acquainting the members with current governmental activities at every level, local, state, and federal. It also makes careful studies of major public issues, particularly those that are of special concern to Jews. It informs the members about the voting records of their representatives in Congress and the state legislature and urges all members to register as voters and to vote in all elections. Generally speaking, it seeks to arouse a direct interest on the part of the members in the democratic process. For some time, now, the SJO has concerned itself with the problem of keeping liberal commentators on the air. It took a leading part in the fight to maintain some semblance of "freedom of the air" on Station KFI and, more recently, through the work of the Los Angeles Radio Committee, has contributed to the fund which has thus far kept Averill Berman, a liberal commentator, on one of the local stations. Members are kept fully informed of all important developments in the fight for a free radio, through analysis of news casts, programs, and the policies of the principal stations.

The legislative department has centered its activities in such campaigns as that to enact a state FEPC in California; in opposition to the loyalty oath; and in intensive campaigns to register voters. The SJO is, of course, non-partisan. Its primary aim is to enlist its members as active participants in the democratic process. The concern which it expresses with democratic procedures is reflected in its

bylaws and organizational structure. The same person cannot be elected president of the organization for more than two terms. Delegates from each chapter are elected to attend the meetings of the principal committees and to serve on the over-all executive board. All meetings, whether of committees or of the full membership, are open to the public and the SJO includes within its membership quite a number of non-Jews.

The intercultural department is one of the most active and effective arms of the organization. Largely through the interest and concern of this department, some of the local universities have adopted the policy of insisting upon some training in intercultural matters as a basic part of their teacher-training programs. For some time, now, the SJO has carried on an extensive recreational program in which some twenty youth organizations and clubs participate. This program has consisted, in the main, of setting up a basketball league in which the various clubs participate. At first the member clubs played against each other, that is, a Negro club would play a Japanese-American club; but, this year, the membership of the various clubs has been broken down and teams have been chosen by the familiar process of "choosing sides," so that teams of mixed racial and ethnic

composition have competed for the prizes offered. The intercultural committee has also set up a pool of speakers the members of which rotate throughout the various churches and synagogues. For example, a Jewish rabbi recently spoke on Judaism to a Japanese-American congregation.

Since the SJO started out as a woman's organization, it still has somewhat more women than men as members. Socially it is a most heterogeneous organization, including members from every social class. By and large, there is very little overlapping of membership with other Jewish organizations with the exception, perhaps, of Hadassah and B'Nai B'Rith. It is one of the policies of the organization to aim primarily at involving individuals who are not already active in some other Jewish organizational work. A membership organization, it cooperates with such community organizations as the Council for Civic Unity; the National Conference of Christians and Jews; the Citizens Committee for Better Education; and many similar groups. The SJO is notable for its general outward orientation; its preoccupation with other than purely Jewish concerns (if there are such); and for the grass-roots character of the democracy which it preaches and practices in the community.

"Always when anti-Semitism breaks out, it means that the people feel ill at ease, hampered in their evil desires, that they are doing wrong, playing hookey from school, are up to bloody tricks and are eager to engage in warlike massacres instead of doing such things as are right, sensible and necessary. Then the Jews have to suffer. But they will suffer and survive. And we may all be certain that their strong sense of this world, and of social justice, will play an important part in the upbuilding of a new humanity struggling slowly out of its crises."

THOMAS MANN

BOOKS

Benjamin Franklin's Experiments, by I. Bernard Cohen. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. xxviii + 453 pp. \$4.00.

Benjamin Franklin was so many-faceted a personality, and so varied were his activities, that he might almost be described as globular. His diplomatic and political activities have received voluminous attention from students of his career during the last century, not to mention the present one, but hardly any attention has been given to Franklin's activities during those six or seven years in which he was conducting his experiments and recording his observations on electricity. It is indeed strange that the book in which Franklin recorded his findings should have remained so long unknown to Americans—unknown in the strict sense of being unread, and at most known only by title—and that Mr. Cohen's edition of *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* should be the first complete American publication of that classic work.

The first edition of *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* appeared at London in 1751, the fifth and final edition, also at London, in 1774. There have been contemporary French, Italian, and German editions, but no American edition before the present admirably edited and introduced reprinting of the fifth edition.

Mr. Cohen, a brilliant young historian of science of whom we shall hear a great deal in the future, and who has already made several distinguished briefer contributions to the history of the physical sciences, introduces Franklin's book with what is undoubtedly the best account of "Electricity Before Franklin" which has yet been published. This fascinating account prepares the reader for an appreciation of the exact quality and character of "Franklin's Work in Electricity," which forms the third Chapter of Mr. Cohen's volume. In the fourth chapter the various editions of Franklin's book are biblio-

graphically and critically presented and discussed, and then follows the printing of the book itself. This still makes delightful reading, and Franklin's expository prose style is here seen at its best, a fact, incidentally, which was far from lost upon Franklin's English readers.

Mr. Cohen also reprints Franklin's additional communications on electricity which at different times he addressed to various bodies, and in an Appendix we are presented with a most valuable discussion of the lectures and discoveries of Franklin's collaborator, Ebenezer Kinnersley, and there is a reprinting of his "A Course of Experiments on the newly Discover'd Electrical Fire" (1752). Finally we are given a reprinting of a little known pamphlet entitled "A Letter to Benjamin Franklin, LL.D., Fellow of the Royal Society. In which his Pretensions to the Title of Natural Philosopher are Considered" (London, 1777). This makes highly diverting and instructive reading. There are an excellent index and several good illustrations. The book is beautifully printed in a very attractive eighteenth century style, upon which author and press are to be heartily congratulated.

Benjamin Franklin could not have been more fortunate in the editor of his electrical works, and in the press which has published them.

M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU

Jewish Vocational Education, by Bernard D. Weinryb, Jewish Teachers' Seminary and People's University Press, New York City. 189 pp.

One of the few fields where it can be said that there is a definite shortage of published material is in the area of Jewish social research. The present volume is, therefore, welcome, both as a contribution to Jewish knowledge as well as the initial offering in a series of books spon-

sored by the Jewish Teachers' Seminary and the People's University of New York. While one doubts whether this small institution has the resources to carry out its ambitious plans, certainly even this first rather modest effort should command attention. When one considers the problem of obtaining reliable data in this field, the author is deserving of special commendation for presenting us with this volume.

Weinryb wisely limits his investigation to a history and appraisal of Jewish vocational education in Europe. He carefully avoids the mistake of narrowing his focus to consideration of only the last few decades. Instead he traces the rise of current efforts at Jewish vocational education and finds that they have their origin in the era during which the Jews were emancipated from their status as a pariah class, and given various political and social rights. Jewish life was to be recast so that

"it might become an integral part of the life of the general community. Integration meant both adopting the culture of and becoming economically integrated into the surrounding world."

This, Dr. Weinryb recognizes, differs from the motivations of general vocational education. He states:

"Jewish vocational education has, from its beginning, been determined by non-economic factors. Influenced at its origin by the demands of the outside world, it has aimed at occupational re-stratification for the purpose of helping integrate the Jews into the surrounding world, changing the Jewish economic structure and adjusting the Jews vocationally to the general population. This was regarded as a means of attaining civil rights and political equality, avoiding anti-Semitism, improving the Jewish group biologically, creating a Jewish working class, or 'return to nature, to work' for national reasons."

Using the best data available, the author traces these efforts of vocational education (and for the Jewish field at least, its corollary, "occupational re-distribution") from the era of the Emancipation until the start of World War II. Most were aimed at the Jewries of Eastern Europe. It is interesting to note that the Jews of Germany participated in these efforts chiefly during two periods: the early days of the Emancipation and shortly before the start of the last war.

Weinryb clearly shows that these efforts were on the whole not successful—

certainly they did not realize the hopes of their sponsors. He attributes this to several factors, not the least of which is the non-economic motivation which we have already mentioned. Another important consideration rests upon the observation that the environment to which the Jews were making their economic adjustment was rapidly changing; the assumption upon which Jewish vocational education rested had been formed in the era of enlightenment. There was much emphasis, for example, on quality work at a time when this ideal, a remnant of the guild and the era of the craftsman, was on the decline.

The Jewish group suffered from the difficulty of not being able to create the general conditions which would insure the success of their efforts. Not only were business cycles beyond their control, but they were at the mercy of the Gentile populace who frequently were able to obtain governmental assistance in efforts aimed at the destruction of the Jewish economic position. The only successful example of Jewish occupational re-distribution, Soviet Russia, can then be understood. Here there was no economic cycle as is characteristic of capitalistic states, and most important, there was a coincidence between Jewish desire and government policy. Weinryb also demonstrates that vocational training which does not have an adequate placement service, which has no adequate resources as well as no way of selecting its pupils—in short, which is the product of a disorganized and fragmentalized Jewish community—cannot succeed.

Possibly the author will be in a position to develop further some of the interesting points he makes *en passant* regarding the success of the Zionist movement in its efforts toward occupational re-distribution and rehabilitation. But the most crying need is for studies of activities now being carried on in our own country along these lines. Until this material is forthcoming, those who are in a position of communal leadership as well as officials of such American Jewish institutions as the National Farm School, the Jewish Agricultural Society, United Service for New Americans, and the B'nai B'rith Vocational Service, would do well to ponder Dr. Weinryb's analysis.

MARSHALL SKLARE

Literature and Morality, by James T. Farrell. The Vanguard Press, Inc. 1947. 304 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Farrell's book is rather a collection of essays and criticisms written on various occasions than a developed and unified thesis. The title is somewhat misleading. The essays and papers include criticisms of the Movie industry, a critique of *War and Peace*, and an essay on Napoleon. They are of unequal value as criticism but in their entirety adequately express their author's strength and limitations.

The limitations are evident in Mr. Farrell's failure to appreciate the art novel as such. For so great a novelist as Henry James he has apparently small use and with James a host of others. Mr. Farrell is primarily interested in proletarian literature. The novel is an informative medium to be used to acquaint us with the lives of the underprivileged and so to bring about social and economic reforms.

Though not a communist he is an economic determinist, seemingly, and sympathetic to the Marxian point of view. Also, as a proponent of the naturalistic school, he is a great admirer of Theodore Dreiser, rating him far too high as a novelist. Dreiser's sincerity all must applaud as, also, his service to American Literature in battling for a deeper realism than prevailed before his time; but Dreiser's defects as a literary artist Mr. Farrell overlooks or minimizes.

One feels in Mr. Farrell's book a basic philosophy now somewhat out of date. Determinism—economic, scientific, or social—has no longer the standing which it had in the time of Zola, Hardy, and Dreiser. While commending the sincerity of his purpose and his sympathy for the exploited and the oppressed the reader must feel that Mr. Farrell has not kept pace with the times. Naturalism as a philosophy is no longer valid. Its literary contribution to realism has been made.

CARL H. GRABO

The Shaping of the American Tradition, by Louis M. Hacker and Helene S. Zahler. Columbia University Press. 2 vols. \$10.00.

Professor Louis Hacker of Columbia University has for some years directed Columbia's famous Western Civilization survey which has been based largely on first-hand readings in the Western tra-

dition. Now he has made available not only an admirably-selected group of readings in American ideas and attitudes since earliest times, but also a substantial analysis of their meaning and time-setting. Therefore, this is no mere anthology with incidental introductory remarks, but a mature lengthy discussion of leading American intellectual themes with generous illustrative documents. Unlike most other selections, and reflecting Professor Hacker's well-known interest in economic influences in history, these volumes show the role of our developing economy in shaping our tradition.

The introductory essay is especially good. Hacker begins with a discussion of the controversial frontier theories of Frederick Jackson Turner, which emphasize the uniqueness of the American experience. This country, isolated from Europe by 3000 miles, was preoccupied for the first three centuries with internal problems, the conquest of a movable frontier of rich arable lands, and other environmental struggles from which has emerged an American Civilization. Turner held that these frontier environmental forces not only afforded, as in the case of cheap lands (according to his disciples) a "safety valve" for labor, but especially the traits of individualism, democracy, equality, and utilitarianism. In previous articles for learned journals, Hacker has taken Turner to task for his preoccupation with the role of geographic "sections" in explaining American history at the expense of the element of class conflict. Here, Hacker's criticism is somewhat different and more in line with the orthodox American historian. He points out the weakness of the "safety valve" theory—as Fred Shannon and others have done—showing that the West was no escape for the underprivileged worker of the East unless the latter had the money and equipment to move West. Going beyond other critics of the Turner theories, Hacker shows that these offer only a partial explanation of the American "way" which is made up of far richer stuff than interaction with the frontier.

Hacker's idea of the American tradition includes these elements: First, religious freedom, which led to separation of church and state by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Secondly, freedom of enterprise as replacing the fixed status of feudalism. This has been accompanied by

a suspicion of monopoly and a fear of corporate power, as witnessed in the fight against the Second United States Bank by Andrew Jackson. Thirdly, political liberalism, carrying with it a strong respect for the individual and a corresponding hostility to the strong state. Fourthly, the ideal of equality of opportunity, a product of cheap lands allowing escape from the monopolistic and exploitative landlordism which was the curse of Ireland and Central Europe. This equality has encouraged the rise of a daring class of entrepreneurs. Besides, American economic development was spared the colonial exploitation by Europe which befel Africa, Asia, and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century because European investors and governments preferred the exploitation of backward subject peoples. European investment in this country, though considerable, never made us a dependency of Europe. Our powerful middle class was never stunted by the role of the foreign entrepreneur.

The author is no naive worshipper of the "American way." He recognizes that those factors which he attributes to our tradition are realized only imperfectly, but he remains optimistic. "True," he observes, "our ways of living have become institutionalized; we move among Big Corporations, Big Trade Unions, and the Big State. But we are not powerless as long as the rights of free discussion and free association are preserved."

Hacker's illustrative documents begin with the European setting, the decline of feudal ideas, the significance of the Protestant revolution, and the rise of a middle class ideology. Daniel Defoe, exponent of the gospel of thrift, sobriety, self-reliance, and other middle class virtues, is given his day in court as is his American counterpart, Benjamin Franklin. Tom Paine and European liberalism in America are also represented. The theoretical basis of mercantilism and its influence on colonial economics and the American Revolution are the subject of a lengthy section.

Readers of the *Forum* will be particularly interested in the section on the New Deal, which Hacker calls "The Third American Revolution." The New Deal replaced the laissez-faire state by the interventionist government. Its theory of social investment, à la Keynes, was not merely supplementary to the idea of

private investment but often competitive with it. However, this "statism" did raise new problems for popular control of government because it became necessary to delegate political powers through a series of huge functionaries in a bureaucracy. The tendency of bureaucrats to identify their own well-being with that of the general welfare constitutes an obvious danger for genuine democracy. However, judging from the number of strongly New Deal writers represented, one may infer that Hacker is only mildly disturbed by the potentialities of bureaucracy. His idea of the New Deal as a revolution (following Lindley and others) may be contrasted with the opposite notion expressed recently in *Depression Decade* (Rinehart, 1947) by Broadus Mitchell, the socialist leader and economist. Mitchell considers the New Deal as an improved version but a continuation basically of the reforms begun under Herbert Hoover; Roosevelt helped save and stabilize capitalism—and that is all according to Mitchell, who intimates that the President failed so miserably in his domestic reforms that he sought a foreign war as an escape. Although Hacker is an editor of the Rinehart series which includes the Mitchell book, he shows no evidence of sharing the latter's opinion.

Among the great champions of New Dealism represented in this book are Alvin Hansen and David Lilienthal. Hansen's *Fiscal Policy and Business Cycles*, as summarized, deals with the structural changes in the American economy which made the depression of the 1930's worse than previous depressions, accompanied by the fact that no new territorial occupation (in our former "Wests") took place and the rate of population growth was declining. While the Nineteenth Century was an era of extensive growth, there was a definite slow-down during 1915-1930. Hansen shows how the free market system of the Nineteenth Century ended in favor of private controls by corporations, trade unions, and governmental agencies. He concludes, "We do not have a choice between 'plan and no plan.' We have a choice only between democratic planning and totalitarian regimentation."

Another New Dealer, John H. Williams, presents an article on *Deficit Spending*, a cogent argument for a moderate public works program adjusted to changes in the

business cycle. For the same era, there are articles by Lillienthal on the TVA and Kuznets on National Income and Its Composition. A section on international developments includes an extract from Wendell Willkie's *One World*. Hacker reminds us of the Hoover era in an article on the Bonus Expeditionary Force and of the dangerous demagogues—Father Coughlin, Huey Long, and Townsend.

In an effort to maintain balance, as may be inferred from the above, Hacker gives some attention to the conservative elements in our tradition as well as the progressive. William Graham Sumner, disciple of the Pope of laissez-faire, Herbert Spencer, is represented in *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other*, as well as the reformer, Henry George, with an extract from *Progress and Poverty*. The alliance of philanthropy and anti-labor individualism has its spokesman in Andrew Carnegie. International idealism has its Woodrow Wilson while the nationalist tradition is expressed through Henry Cabot Lodge. The documents are rich in cases involving labor, monopoly, and civil liberties. Throughout, Hacker's discussions leave no doubt as to his scale of values while allowing a scientific representation to both sides. Altogether, this work is one of the most useful for the general reader for a realistic and fair appraisal of the American scene and its ideology.

HARVEY WISH

The Eternal Light, by Morton Wishengrad. Crown Publishers, N. Y. 412 pp. \$3.00.

The "Eternal Light" program presented over the National Broadcasting Company by the Jewish Theological Seminary is well known and enjoyed in the Jewish community. To those who have heard the dramas written by Morton Wishengrad, this collection of 26 of the plays offers an opportunity to experience once again the profound moral quality with which they are imbued. From Chassidic tales, historical foot-notes, and contemporary history, the author has selected that material which best presents the virtues inherent in Judaism. Perhaps the outstanding quality the dramas possess is that which distinguishes the knee of one's grandfather from a seat in the synagogue or temple. Here is moral instruction without pontification—gentility—illustration

through "byschpiel"—the encouragement of a resourcefulness only hinted at.

In the foreword, Louis Finkelstein, President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, states that the tenets of our faith have rarely been presented in the present day in a graphic easily understood form, and that it has been the purpose of the Seminary in presenting the program to interpret the essence of our faith so that "he who runneth" may comprehend. For all this serious intent, the plays are not lacking in humor. They are cast in the same mold as Benet's *The Devil and Daniel Webster*, and are just as enjoyable. It might be expected that on reading one would lose much of the effect, because the plays were written for radio, which employs music and other sounds to project the tone of the drama, but to the author's credit and his excellent use of the ubiquitous Narrator, this assistance is not missed. The book will delight the family group which enjoys reading aloud. These plays are recreational in the true sense of the word.

Included in the book is an essay on writing for radio written by Mr. Wishengrad, which should be interesting not only to a student of radio art but to the uninitiated. In a sense it is a visit behind the scenes and adds much to one's enjoyment of the book as a whole.

BERNARD H. SOKOL

Inside Pan-Arabia, by M. J. Steiner. Hendricks House, Packard and Co., Chicago. \$3.00.

Dr. Steiner's book provides a great deal of information on a subject which has been woefully neglected for many years. There is an abysmal ignorance of the Arab world and its problems even in otherwise well informed circles in America and in Great Britain. One would wish that every American correspondent before receiving an assignment in the Near East would take a test based on Dr. Steiner's book.

The author charts the history of Arab independence and devotes much space to the record of the Arabs in World War I, and World War II. It is obvious from this record that the Arabs received much more than they deserved. During World War I, after their weak militarily insignificant help rendered to the Allies, three independent Arab countries were created. Dr. Steiner is correct when he character-

ized the Arab record in World War II as one of "unfriendly neutrality toward the Allies." Suffice it to say that such prominent Arab leaders as the former Mufti of Jerusalem, Rashid Bey Gailani and Fauzi Bey Kawkadzi spent the war years in Nazi Germany actively supporting the German war effort.

This dismal record of the Arabs, points out Dr. Steiner, must be compared with the splendid record of the Jews in order to understand fully the extent to which Great Britain has betrayed the hopes and the aspirations of the Jewish people.

The author devotes a good deal of space to an objective description of the demography of the Near East. He successfully explodes the fallacy that that part of the world has a homogeneous population, and points out that many minority groups in the Near East have struggled for many centuries against fanatic Arab Moslem domination. Dr. Steiner points out the danger to the peace of the world if the western Allies continue to give support to the fanatic Arab nationalists. The Near East if allowed to fall into the domination of the Arab extremists like the leaders of the Moslem Brotherhood or the Mufti of Jerusalem, will become fascist in a short time.

One would only wish that Dr. Steiner were not so unduly critical of the policies pursued by the leaders of the Jewish Agency. It is easy to criticize some of these policies now after their consequences are clear, but it is a different matter to choose the right policy when many factors are unknown and difficult to assess.

But, all in all, the book is well written and has a wealth of information which is of great importance to those who wish to understand the recent developments in the Near East.

MARK M. KRUG

People vs. Property: Race Restrictive Covenants in Housing. Herman H. Long and Charles S. Johnson. Fisk University Press. 107 pp. \$1.00.

The forces which create Negro ghettos have been carefully analysed and documented in this work by President Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University and his associate, Herman H. Long, associate director of the Race Relations Department of the American Missionary Asso-

ciation. The result is an illuminating book, written factually, not a polemic.

That Negroes in metropolitan areas live in segregated areas is well known. That there is a high social cost in their concentration within crowded submarginal housing facilities is becoming generally recognized. That there are but sporadic and ineffectual attempts to change this pattern of urban ghettos is obvious. But the manner in which this phenomenon so at variance with concepts of American democracy has been achieved and perpetuated needs telling and repetition.

Dr. Johnson and Mr. Long, and their able staff of assistants, examined thousands of deeds and race restrictive covenants in Chicago and St. Louis, and from them traced the typical pattern of systematic exclusion of Negroes from all but the most narrowly confined areas. Their book includes numerous charts illustrative of methods adopted, by public bodies, by real estate associations, and by community improvement societies.

The chapter devoted to a study of neighborhood improvement associations is particularly revealing. The growth of the number of such groups, and the incidence of racial restrictive covenants, have been closely parallel. That this was not coincidental is indicated by a study of the announced aims of the associations. One-third publicly advocate exclusion of non-caucasians, and, significantly enough, more than ten per cent urge barring Jews.

Real Estate associations attempt to prevent realtors from negotiating sales to Negroes in predominantly white areas. They use "codes of ethics" as disciplinary action before governmental licensing agencies.

The authors discuss at some length the legal problems involved in enforcement of race restrictive covenants. Their work was undertaken, however, before the recent Supreme Court hearing on the constitutionality of restrictions. And while they were not then aware of the result, their conclusion was that court relief was more likely at this time than appropriate legislative action.

They conclude that segregation of peoples on the basis of race tends to increase rather than reduce tensions and likelihood of violence. Because of the high mobility of people, the rapidity of communication and transportation, the numerous other complicated factors of

urbanized community life, physical and psychological isolation becomes utterly impractical, if not impossible. Thus any "obedience to the principle of segregation, in the face of the necessity for common sharing in ideas, values and information, and for freedom of movement, serves to heighten social conflict."

This little book by Johnson and Long will be of interest to all students of race relations, to those who are in the struggle to eliminate race as the standard by which men are measured, and it may awaken some who by social inaction contribute to the maintenance of this cancer in our body politic.

STANLEY MOSK

The Diaries of Franz Kafka: 1910-1913, edited by Max Brod. New York, Schocken Books. 354 pp. \$3.75.

At the time of his death Kafka had published but a slender sheaf of stories, but he left behind him many manuscripts—such masterpieces as *The Castle* and *The Trial*—which firmly established his reputation as belonging among the great writers of fiction. But in order to understand his unique yet universal genius and the secret of his powerful appeal to the intellectuals of our time, one must learn something about the man—the nature of his personality, and the kind of life he led. These *Diaries* give us some insight into the complexities of his soul, the way his talmudically subtle but anxiety-ridden and guilt-haunted mind worked, the creative method he employed. We observe the extreme intensity with which he thought, felt, and lived: detecting hidden symbols in everything about him, troubled by painful memories of the past, seeking to probe the meaning of his mysterious dreams. In these *Diaries* he sets down everything that interests him: germs of stories, incidents of the day, passages of fiction which were later incorporated into the body of his work, comments about his father whom he both loved and hated, conversations with his mother, and so on.

Spiritually tormented, physically ailing, Kafka led an introverted existence. What he wanted most out of life was freedom to write; unfortunately he had to work for an insurance company during the day and this was a source of sheer agony. In addition, he suffered from a persistent tendency toward self-disparagement, a remorseless questioning of his every mo-

tive, feeling, attitude, mood. Always he felt convinced of his own radical imperfection, though incapable of devising a satisfactory system of repentance. Since he was at heart an agnostic, an incurable skeptic, his pseudo-theological language of sin and conversion, God and salvation, is to be taken only figuratively. Then, too, he was obsessed by the realization that the personality of man is essentially unknowable, that we all conceal ourselves behind public masks. Hence Kafka was forever driven to conduct a "trial," with himself as culprit, jury, and judge, and the sentence he imposed on himself (and by implication on humanity) was never light. Those who profess to find in Kafka's writings the basic elements of "the theology of crisis" or of a strong leaning toward Judaism are reading into his work a symbolic significance that is simply not there.

The *Diaries* also contain jottings reflecting his interest in Zionism and in Western European stories dealing with Jews. He draws shrewd portraits of Jews in the Altneu Synagogue, pious Eastern Jews bowed over their prayer books, chanting mysterious words to the accompaniment of arabesque melodies. Fascinated by the world of Jewish life and Jewish art, Kafka attended the Jewish theatre, formed close friendships with many of the Jewish actors, soaking himself in Jewish tradition. It was about this time that he began to read Graetz' *History of the Jews*. But European Judaism, as Kafka saw it, was in a stage of transition; it had become a thing of remembered forms, an historical shell. There can be no doubt, however, that Kafka was greatly stimulated by Jewish literature, Jewish plays, Jewish history, Jewish folklore, and even the Jewish language.

Just as writing was for Kafka a form of public prayer, so these *Diaries* were his private prayer: a therapeutic outlet. As he declares in one entry, he wants to cure his neurasthenia through his work, for no one was less confused or sentimental about his neurotic affliction than Kafka himself. Throughout the *Diaries* we feel the impress of an extraordinarily sensitive, intensely imaginative person for whom eternity sounded in the passing of a minute and infinity was reflected in a grain of sand. For Kafka, although the most subjective of story tellers, every tale being the record of his spiritual strug-

gles and suffering, possessed the rare genius of being able to universalize the personal, so that his confessions and neurotic revolts, his seizures of melancholia and nihilistic despair, reveal in profound yet tantalizingly ambiguous symbols the tragic dilemma of modern man. Reading these *Diaries* one is better able to comprehend why so many writers and intellectuals of our day find so much inspiration and spiritual nourishment in his work.

CHARLES I. GLICKSBERG

America in Perspective: The United States Through Foreign Eyes. Edited, with an introduction and notes by Henry Steele Commager. 309 pp. Random House. \$4.00.

"... It is because foreign observers can see America without the assumptions and presuppositions that becloud the American vision, because they can, in fact, see America in perspective, that they are helpful." Thus Columbia's historian, Professor Commager, remarks in his introduction. Having lived amongst several nations, this reviewer cannot think of any group as anxious as the American nation to look into a mirror, to see itself through somebody else's eyes, whether he be a friend or a foe. This is, of course, a sign of courage and optimism, and so is the present anthology, culled from thirty-five different volumes written by representatives of thirteen different nations who had something pertinent—and, at times, impertinent—to say about the American people.

The volume starts out with the 18th century French immigrant, Michel Guilleme de Crevecoeur who raises the question "What is the American?" to answer it by saying that "the American is a new man, who acts upon new principles . . . from involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence." Close to him, in his admiration for America, comes the German scholar, Francis Lieber, who exclaims; enthusiastically: "Ten years in America are like a century elsewhere."

But Professor Commager did not confine himself to opinions flattering to this country. Several critics appeared on the scene, as time marched on, especially in the twentieth century, and neither their opinions nor their prejudices are suppressed here. According to the Spanish

diplomat, Salvador de Madariaga, Americans are just selfish and materialistic kids: "America . . . appeared to me as an immense up-to-date nursery and boys' school fitted with the most wonderful toys and games you could imagine." The Soviet writers, Ilya Ilf and Eugene Petrof, claim that the American is only interested "in what is directly connected with his house, his automobile, or his nearest neighbors." Nevertheless, the critical Spaniard cannot help admitting that America has a great future ("The boys will grow"), and some grudging admiration crept even into the Russians' description of the degenerate U. S. A.

Have, then, these thirty-five essays anything in common except their general topic? At the first glance, they haven't; the same volume contains Captain Frederick ("Midshipman Easy") Marryat's superficial, if amusing little item on American idiom and American prudery, and lengthy excerpts from Alexis de Tocqueville's classic, *Democracy in America*; the observations of a self-taught Scotch workingman, James D. Burn, and those of a distinguished Hungarian churchman and aristocrat, Count Peter Vay de Vaya; the views of conservatives, liberals, and Marxists. And yet, "over the confused diversity there broods a higher unity," as one of the contributors to the volume puts it: all of the writers, including the most critical, note that this is a land of the future, of opportunity, of experimentation, of energy and vitality.

Professor Commager was probably right in omitting selections from the works of Carl Schurz, Jacob Riis, Edward Bok, Count Keyserling and other foreign or foreign-born observers of American life, since their notions have become common knowledge by now. However, it is regrettable that but one woman, Harriet Martineau, is represented, although women are known to be excellent observers of details. Likewise, one of the countless Yiddish and Hebrew writers who visited the States, should have been included; also, we would have liked the compiler to insert some of the statements on the USA and its people made by immigrants or visitors who arrived here since 1933, such as Martin Gumpert, Leopold Infeld, Albert Einstein, Hans Natoek, Erna Barschak, Eva Lips, the Mann brothers and their family, Jules Romain, Lion Feuchtwanger, Andre Maurois, and others.

Be that as it may, *America in Perspective* is a highly interesting and informative book, a nice handy mirror for those who can stand both praise and reproof. In this connection, the reviewer cannot refrain from quoting, on the third anniversary of Franklin D. Roosevelt's death, a few significant sentences written, by the British Ambassador, James Bryce, six decades ago:

"Perhaps no form of government needs great leaders so much as democracy. The fatalistic habit of mind perceptible among the Americans needs to be corrected by that spectacle of courage and independence taking their own path, and not looking to see whither the masses are moving. Those whose material prosperity tends to lap them in self-complacency and dull the edge of aspiration, need to be thrilled by the emotions which great men can excite, stimulated by the ideals they present, stirred to a loftier sense of what national life may attain. In some countries men of brilliant gifts may be dangerous to freedom; but the ambition of American statesmen has been schooled to flow in constitutional channels, and the Republic is strong enough to stand any strain to which the rise of heroes may expose her."

ALFRED WERNER

The Buried Are Screaming, by Helen Warren. Beechhurst Press. 188 pp. \$3.00.

Helen Warren, an American actress, was sent during the war, first to Italy, and, later to Germany, as a member of a U.S.O. unit to entertain there our fighting forces. When abroad she became interested in the plight of Jewry who survived the combined ferocity of Mussolini and Hitler. This book is a recital of her experiences and rescue work.

Aroused by their misery, Miss Warren constituted herself an institution, to seek succor and means for the alleviation of the agony and arrangements for possible escape of the scarred, destitute wrecks of humanity, into a haven they were yearning to enter—Palestine.

These Jews uprooted from their homelands—Poland, Rumania, Hungary, and other East European countries, were vaguely identified by victorious allies as "displaced persons." Because there was neither a welcome for them in native lands where their kin were butchered, nor a desire of their own to return "home," tens of thousands of the sur-

vivors were incarcerated in concentration camps. The beaurocracy and muddled thinking of authorities in various zones of occupied Germany held them fast behind barbed wires. The Jew, it was decreed, had to go back to his "place of origin"—his native land—or stay put. Many of these displaced persons were also roaming the countryside, passionately seeking a chance to escape the trap. Miss Warren, a keen observer and an enterprising person, brought to bear charm, audacity, and the intensity of a high moral purpose to give the unfortunates an opportunity for rehabilitation. She was successful in enlisting—against prevailing military regulations—the aid of people sympathetic with her aims. She would smuggle these displaced persons from Germany into Italy, where an underground agency would afford them a lifeline to Palestine. She has dried many a tear, and helped salvage much from the human debris left in the wake of Hitler.

The Buried Are Screaming is a spirited volume that breathes indignation at the apathy and the callousness of governments that would not permit an unfortunate people a respite and a chance at a life compatible with human dignity.

BENJAMIN WEINTROUB

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THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM

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